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THE SELEUCID MINT OF ANTIOCH

By EDWARD T. NEWELL

It is surprising that, while much has been written concerning the large and important coinage of the Seleucid sovereigns of Asia, we should still be at such a loss to assign the greater part of this coinage to the mints that were once so active in its production. To be sure, we can easily and correctly distinguish the issues of Sidon, Tyre, Berytos, and Ake Ptolemais — but only because, from the reign of Alexander Balas on, these coins bear such obvious mint marks that they can not be misread. Some of the later issues of Tarsos and Mallos in Cilicia are also distinguishable. But since the appearance of Dr. George Macdonald's two illuminating monographs[1] dealing with certain Seleucid coinages of Asia Minor, little advance[2] has been made and the origin of the bulk of the Seleucid coinage is still an enigma.

At first sight the vast material remaining seems to present almost insurmountable difficulties, but the inducements offered to students and historians to solve the problem are correspondingly many. The Seleucid coinage in particular is closely associated with, and therefore partakes of, the vicissitudes of the many rulers who issued it; its long and splendid line of living portraits — not only of the legitimate scions of the House of Seleucus but also of usurping regents and rebellious satraps such as Achaeus, Timarchus, Tryphon, and others — give it a vital and human interest that is not surpassed in Greek Numismatics. Its many mints and long existence give it a variety of types and of artistic style that is most attractive. While the time is certainly not yet ripe for a pretentious study of the Seleucid coinage as a whole (such as, for instance, has been done by Svoronos for the Ptolemaic series) much can be accomplished in sorting out the issues of various mints or in the intensive study of some one of these mints.

[1] Jour. Hell. Studies, Vol. XXIII, 1903, Vol. XXVII, 1907.

[2] Dr. Imhoof-Blumer has since published an article dealing with Seleucid coins in the Numismatische Zeitschrift for 1913, but while this is important for new material and its association with types already known, only suggestions are made concerning the actual mints. Rev. Edgar Rogers has also published some Seleucid coins in his collection (Num. Chron., 1912).

It is undoubtedly obvious that the most important and the longest lived of all the Seleucid mints was that of their capital Antioch. Curiously enough no systematic study has yet been made of this mint under the Syrian Kings. If the probably prolific issues of this great commercial and political centre, the heart as well as the head of the Seleucid Empire, could be picked out, gathered together, and studied, not only would a considerable advance be recorded in our knowledge of this particular field, but a long step would be taken towards solving the problems of the remaining mints. The following is an attempt in this direction.

Apologies, however, are necessary for the incompleteness of this work, due partly to the rush of other work but principally to the present war which has not only hastened the publication but, above all, has made it impossible to secure casts of certain important coins in the great public and private collections abroad. Reliance has therefore had to be placed solely upon the catalogues of the Seleucid coins in Paris, London, and Glasgow; the catalogue of the coins in the Hermitage Collection, Petrograd (Jour. Int. Num., Vol. XIII, 1911) ; various sales catalogues of the past twenty years ; catalogues of certain private collections ; and finally upon such actual specimens as are to be found in the scattered collections of America. While, therefore, the following list of coins attributable to the great mint of Antioch is far from complete[3], perhaps enough have been brought together to give us a more or less clear outline of the issues as a whole, to show their real sequence, and to throw in relief the comparative importance of this coinage and the light it sheds on the history of the times. It is also most unfortunate that we are forced to commence our studies of the Antiochene mint with a coin struck as late as the reign of Seleucus II. This was certainly not the first issue of our mint; its coinage undoubtedly goes back well into the reign of Antiochus I, if not earlier. But the coinages of the earlier sovereigns from Seleucus I to Seleucus II are notoriously obscure and complicated, and they can not be satisfactorily studied and elucidated without the assistance of hundreds of coins and casts. These, it is manifest, can not be secured at the present time. In this article we desire only to deal with coins which can be certainly attributed to Antioch, and as the issues of this mint emerge from chaos

[3] Only the gold and silver issues have been treated with any fullness as these are the ones most commonly illustrated in our catalogues. The bronze issues have only been indicated, as it would be impossible to treat of these successfully without seeing and handling the actual specimens. Furthermore, the bronze coins are seldom illustrated in our catalogues.

into a clear and orderly sequence only with the following coin this one must, perforce, form the introduction to our study.[4]

SELEUCUS II, 246-226 B. C.

1 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Seleucus II to right. Circle of dots.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (to r.) ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ (to l.). Apollo, naked, standing to l., holds arrow in outstretched r., and leans with l. on tall tripod. On l., outside the inscription, ⅄. On r., outside the inscription, ⅂.

Newell, **Plate I** ; London, no. 5 ; Paris, no. 255.

2 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar, and of similar style.

Rev. Similar to preceding. On l., outside inscription, ⅄. On r., outside inscription, ⅄.

Paris no. 256.

The attribution of these tetradrachms to Antioch is dependant upon the similar ones struck by Seleucus III and Antiochus III of which we will treat later. We here see a custom followed which seems to have been more or less prevalent in Greek regal coinages, namely that the issues of the capital or principal mint of a kingdom bore only magistrates' symbols or monograms — but never any mark to designate the particular city at which the piece was struck.[5] Thus under the Ptolemies the issues of Alexandria bore only magistrates' marks, but the provincial mints of Cyprus and the Phoenician coast nearly always placed mint marks, in the full sense of this term, upon their coins. So it had been under Alexander the Great. The central mints of Pella, Amphipolis, Sardis, Halikarnassos, Tarsos, Babylon, and Alexandria used no distinctive marks to designate the issuing mint, while, on the other hand, subsidiary mints in Cyprus, Syria, Phoenicia and other localities often did employ real mint marks. The same thing is true of the later Macedonian and Pergamene royal issues. While this may seem a sweeping statement, close inspection will show that it is essentially correct. The few exceptions that from time to time occur only

[4] The historical notes accompanying this article are based throughout on Bevan, "The House of Seleucus," and Niese, "Die Geschichte der griechischen und makedonischen Staaten." Acknowledgment is here made the assistance afforded by these invaluable works.

[5] This custom is not confined to ancient times as, for instance, to-day in the United States only the subsidiary mints of New Orleans, Denver, and San Francisco mark their issues, the principal mint, Philadelphia, does not.

tend to prove the existence of such a custom as a whole. It is also not meant to imply that *all* minor mints were accustomed to mark their coinages. There are innumerable instances where they too used only magistrates' marks; but in general, especially in the Seleucid Empire, they managed by monogram, symbol, or peculiar type to distinguish the local series from the larger mass of the royal issues struck in the great centres of the empire. To reiterate then, in the Seleucid coinage we will find that the mint of Antioch never, until a late period, placed a distinguishing monogram or symbol on its issues, in strong contrast to the smaller, or perhaps more autonomous mints, such as Tyre and other Phoenician cities, which from the time of Antiochus III gradually adopted the custom of using special marks for their coins. This custom was also later followed by mints in Cilicia.

SELEUCUS III, 226-223 B. C.

In 226 B. C. Seleucus III succeeded to his father's dominions, which by now had shrunk to Cilicia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Persis, and Media. Without being able to increase these dominions he died suddenly (probably by poison) in the Summer of 223 B. C.

Such coins issued in his name and bearing his portrait as can be assigned to Antioch are the following:

3 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Seleucus III, with slight indication of a side beard, to right. Circle of dots.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (to r.) ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ (to l.). Apollo, naked but for chlamis draped over right thigh, seated to l. on omphalos, holds arrow in outstretched r., rests l. on bow. On l., outside inscription, Ɪ. On r., outside inscription, Ψ.

London no. 1 (Pl. vii, 6); J. Ward Coll. no. 781 (Pl. xix); Jameson Coll. no. 1682 (Pl. lxxxiv); Egger Sale xlv, 1913, no. 657 (Pl. xix); Roll. & Feuard. Sale, June, 1913, no. 330, **Plate I**; Egger Sale, Jan., 1908, no. 575 (Pl. xvii); Hirsch, Weber Sale, no. 4047 (Pl. lvii); Newell (two specimens, one ex. Zschiesche & Köder Sale, April, 1913, no. 690, Pl. ix); Paris, nos. 297 and 298; Coll. Walcher de Molthein, 1895, no. 2913 (Pl. xxv).

4 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Seleucus III with beard very evident. Circle of dots.

Rev. Similar to preceding. On l., outside inscription, Ɪ. On r., outside inscription, 𐤀.

Paris, no. 296 (Pl. viii, 11); Egger Sale xli, no. 652, **Plate I**.

5 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar to preceding. *Rev.* Similar to preceding. On l., outside inscription, ☤.

Paris, no. 299; London (Num. Chron., Ser. IV, Vol. XIV, Pl. viii, 8).

6 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar to preceding. *Rev.* Similar to preceding. On l., outside inscription, ⌶. On r., outside inscription, ΣΩ.

London, no. 2.

That these types belong to the same mint as no. 1 of Seleucus II is evident from similarity in style, and above all by the recurrence of the two characteristic monograms ⌶ and ☤. The rule of Seleucus III was too short to bring about much change in the personel of the mint. The comparative commonness of the type represented by no. 3 (it is easily the most frequent of all the tetradrachms of Seleucus III) points to the principal mint of this ruler's empire as their place of origin.

ANTIOCHUS III, 223-187 B. C.

For a short time after the sudden death of Seleucus III the succession to the Seleucid throne was under debate.[6] The younger brother of the dead king, Antiochus by name, was at this time in distant Babylonia as governor. Fortunately for him, however, his cousin Achaeus assumed the direction of affairs in the West in his favor until the new king could himself reach the capital and take over the actual rule. As Achaeus had thus declared for Antiochus III from the beginning, and occupied the central portion of the Empire, there is no doubt that coins were struck at Antioch in the latter's name shortly after the reception of the news of the death of Seleucus III. In full accord with this assumption we find a large series of tetradrachms closely bound by style and monograms to those of the dead king and evidently struck in the same mint with little or no interval between their respective appearances.

[6] The well known coins with the portrait of a young boy and the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ have been assigned to this period by Droysen and Babelon and supposed by them to have been struck by an ephemeral and shadowy Antiochus mentioned in an inscription. This attribution has since been discarded — and with right as we shall see.

SERIES I, Circa 223–206 B. C.

YOUTHFUL PORTRAIT.

a. Beaded Border.

7 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Youthful head of Antiochus III to r., diademed. Ends of diadem hang down. Circle of dots.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (to r.) ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ (to l.). Apollo, naked but for chlamis draped over right thigh, seated to left on omphalos, holds arrow in outstretched r., rests l. on bow. On l., outside inscription, 𐤌 and 𐤑.

Bunbury Sale, no. 466, **Plate I**; Glasgow, no. 3 (Pl. lxv, 7); Newell.

8 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar head but side beard not visible and one end of diadem flying.

Rev. Similar to above. On l., outside inscription, 𐤑 and 𐤌.

Egger Sale xli, no. 659, **Plate I**; Sotheby Sale, July, 1899, no. 116 (Pl. iii).

9 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Youthful, diademed head of Antiochus III to r. Ends of diadem hang down. Circle of dots.

Rev. Similar to preceding. On l., outside inscription, 𐤑. On r., outside inscription, 𐤕.

Egger Sale xli, no. 663, **Plate I.**

b. Fillet Border.

10 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Youthful, diademed head of Antiochus III to r. Ends of diadem hang down. Fillet border.

Rev. Similar to preceding. On l., outside inscription, 𐤑 and 𐤌.

Jameson Coll. no. 1686, **Plate I.**

11 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar to preceding. Fillet border.

Rev. Similar to preceding. On l., outside inscription, 𐤌 and 𐤑.

Helbing, Zschiesche & Köder Sale, April, 1913, no. 689 (pl. ix).

12 TETRADRACHM.[7]

Obv. Similar to preceding.

Rev. Similar to preceding. On l., outside inscription, 𐤑.

Egger Sale, xli, no. 660; Egger Sale, xli, no. 661; Egger Sale, 1908, no. 577, **Plate I**; Merzbacher Sale, 1910, no. 823 (Pl. 14); Num. Chron., 1883, Pl. v. 1; London, no. 25; Coll. L. Walcher de Molthein, 1895, no. 2920 (Pl. xxv); Amer.

[7] The gold Oktadrachm in the Hunterian Coll., Glasgow, no. 1, Plate lxv, 6, of this type, is now considered to be a forgery (cast).

Num. Soc.; Rome, Strozzi Sale, 1907, no. 1663 (Pl. xi); A. Cahn Cat. no. 24, no. 763 (Pl. iv).

13 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. More mature head, high relief. Border not visible.

Rev. Similar to preceding. On l., outside inscription, ꟾ.

Sardis (Publications of the Amer. Soc. for the excavation of Sardis), Vol. XI, Part I, 1910–14, no. 397 (Pl. i).

14 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar to preceding but of lower relief. Beaded border.

Rev. Similar to preceding. On l., outside inscription, ꟾ.

American Numismatic Society, **Plate I.**

15 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar to preceding.

Rev. Similar to preceding. On l., outside inscription, ꟾ and 𐡐. On r., outside inscription, 𐡒.

Newell, **Plate I.**

This compact series of tetradrachms is closely associated with those of Seleucus II and III by the constant recurrence of the two characteristic monograms ⌶ and ⍒, and by the close similarity of their styles. With no. 10 appears for the first time in the Seleucid coinage the fillet border in place of the more usual beaded border. As Babelon, following Cavedoni, has shown,[8] the significance of the fillet on account of the close association between this particular form of fillet and the worship of Apollo is to be referred to the Apolline origin of the Seleucid family. On well preserved Seleucid coins we are able to distinguish the fillet decoration on the omphalos upon which Apollo is seated. It is needless to draw the reader's attention to the great honor in which the worship of Apollo was held at Antioch and to the famous temple and sacred grove of this divinity situated just outside the walls at Daphne. There may be some significance, therefore, in the fact that it is upon the issues which we would attribute to the Antiochene mint that the fillet border first appears.

The portrait of Antiochus III, as found on this series, suits the circumstances of the case very well as we know that he was about eighteen years of age when he was called to the throne. The portrait is evidently that of a young man in his early twenties.

[8] Babelon, Les rois de Syrie, etc., Introduction, pp. lxxvi, lxxvii.

Running parallel with these silver coins there is also a bronze series containing at least two denominations. The types for the large size are: obv. Head of Antiochus III, rev. Apollo seated; those for the small size are: similar obverse, rev. Apollo standing. The monogram ⋇ is found on all of these and, in addition, the letters Δ (Paris no. 400), I (Paris, 399, 410, and London 49-51), ⊙ (Paris 398), and without letters (Paris 397). It is not impossible that these letters may form a portion of a series of regnal dates or the indications of numbered issues.

SERIES II, Circa 206–200 B. C.

MIDDLE-AGED PORTRAIT.

a. Elephant type.

16 STATER.

Obv. Diademed head of Antiochus III to r. Ends of taenia hang down. Circle of dots.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (to r.) ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ (to l.) Elephant with raised trunk to r. In front, ⋇, in exergue, AT.

Paris, no. 393, **Plate I.**

17 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Antiochus III to r. Ends of taenia hang down. Fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (above) ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ (below). Elephant to r. On l., 𐡀, on r., M.

Paris, no. 394, **Plate I.**

18 TETRADRACHM.[9]

Obv. Similar to preceding.

Rev. Similar to preceding. On l., 𐡀, on r., 𐡌.

London, no. 28, **Plate I.**

b. Apollo type.

19 STATER.

Obv. Diademed head of Antiochus III to right. Ends of taenia hang down. Circle of dots.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (to r.) ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ (to l). Apollo, naked but for chlamis draped over right thigh, seated to l. on omphalos, holds arrow in outstretched r., rests l. on bow. On l., outside inscription, 𐡀. On r., outside inscription, 𐡌.

London, no. 3, **Plate II**; Hirsch Weber Sale, 1908, no. 4050 (Pl. lii).

[9] If the rather common drachms of the elephant type are to be taken as an Antiochene issue, as now seems likely, they would form, in style and type, a transition between the tetradrachm no. 13 of the preceding Series, and nos. 17 and 18 of the present Series. The monogram found on these drachms is not unlike that on the Elephant tetradrachms. Specimens of the drachm are to be seen in the following collections: London, nos. 30 (Pl. ii), 31, 32; Paris, nos. 395 (Pl. x, 3), 396; Jameson, no. 1689 (Pl. lxxxv); Newell (two specimens); Petrograd, nos. 268, 269; J. Ward Coll., no. 784 (illustrated); Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), nos. 32 (Pl. lxv, 13), 33.

20 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Head of Antiochus III as above except that ends of taenia are flying. Fillet border.

Rev. Similar to preceding. On l., outside inscription, ϟ.

Newell, Plate II ; Paris, nos. 374 and 375 ; Bourgey, Rousset Sale, April, 1908, no. 198 (Pl. vii).

21 DRACHM.

Obv. Head as above. Circle of dots.

Rev. Similar to preceding. On l., outside inscription, ϟ.

London, no. 16.

22 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar to no. 20. Fillet border.

Rev. Similar to. no. 20. On l., outside inscription, Ψ.

Newell, Plate II ; Newell (another).

23 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar to no. 21. Border of dots.

Rev. Similar to preceding. On l., outside inscription, Ψ.

London, no. 14, Plate II ; Paris, no. 392 (Pl. ix, 16).

24 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar to no. 20. Fillet border.

Rev. Similar to preceding. On l., outside inscription, TRIPOD (with base).

Newell, Plate II ; Paris, nos. 372 (Pl. ix, 11) and 385 (Pl. ix, 13) ; Bunbury Coll., no. 474 (Pl. iv) ; Sardis (Publications of the Amer. Soc. for the Excavation of Sardis), Vol. XI, Part I, 1910–14, no. 393 (Pl. i).

In the Numismatische Zeitschrift for 1913, pp. 187, 188, Dr. Imhoof-Blumer has assembled certain of the coins which we have just enumerated, namely nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11 and 16 and, on account of the characteristic monograms ⱡ and ϟ which these bear, has rightly enough discerned that the coins in question must be the product of a single mint, and suggests, furthermore, that this mint may have been Antioch. In this we can but agree with him as being the only possible solution because of the great number, not only of varieties but of actual specimens that have come down to us. In proceeding from the point at which Dr. Blumer left off and studying the succeeding series of coin issues which appear for every reign throughout the remainder of Seleucid history we will see that only Antioch could have been the source of such an unbroken sequence of coinages. When, however, Dr. Blumer

would see in the monograms ⊻ and ⊬ something else besides magistrate's marks because, as he states, the coins bearing these cover a period of fifty years or more, we find it impossible to follow him. His error lies in computing the years over which these two monograms must stretch by counting in the *full* reigns of both Seleucus II and Antiochus III, that is from 246 to 187 B. C.— a matter of some fifty-nine years. We have seen, however, that the two monograms in question only appear upon the coins of Seleucus II just before his death in 226 B. C. They then continue through the reign of Seleucus III (226-223), and through the first period (circa 223-206) of Antiochus III when his portrait is still that of a comparatively young man. At this point ⊻ drops out, but ⊬ appears again, but alone, during the next period which ends about 200 B. C. and whose coin issues show Antiochus III as a man of middle age — that is about thirty-five to forty years of age. In other words the two magistrates signing themselves ⊻ and ⊬ respectively were in office, the one not longer than from say 228 to about 206 B. C., the second from 228 to about 200 B. C. at the longest, an extended but never-the-less far from impossible tenure of office. Dr. Blumer appears to be mistaken in considering the features of Antiochus III on the later coins (our nos. 16 and 20) as those of an elderly man and therefore to be referred to the end of his reign. As can be seen on our plates the features of Antiochus on this Series (nos. 16 to 24) are still full and vigorous and without the trace of a single wrinkle. They would seem to be those of a man of strong personality and in the prime of life, perhaps some thirty-five to forty years of age, which fits in well with the dates assigned to these coins. A much older portrait will be found in the next series.

Looking closely at the coins which comprise Series II we see that it is but a continuation of Series I. We find a slightly older head, the same fillet border of the latest coins of the previous series, the characteristic monogram ⊬, and in ⏃ a slight variant of the monogram ⏃ seen on no. 15. The elephant stater, no. 16, certainly belongs to our mint on account of the monogram ⊬. It is therefore likely that the two tetradrachms nos. 17 and 18, with the same reverse type of an elephant, were struck here as well. In confirmation of this we should note the close similarity of style and workmanship between the obverses of these two remarkable pieces and the obverses of nos. 20, 22, and 24. The placing of the commencement of Series II in the year 206/205 B. C. is due to the sudden and ephemeral appearance of the elephant

for the reverse type. This animal would be the most natural emblem that could be selected to celebrate what Antiochus III was pleased to call his subjugation of Bactria and India. His achievements in the East undoubtedly made a great impression upon his contemporaries by whom he was henceforth called the "Great." There were no doubt great celebrations held at Antioch when news arrived of his successes, the acknowledgment of his suzerainty by Euthedemus and Sophagasenus, and the statement that the Bactrian king (and perhaps the Indian as well, though our historians do not say so) had turned over to the Seleucid army a large force of Indian elephants. These remained the pride and strength of the Seleucid armies until, in later years, when disasters had befallen the Empire, Rome saw fit to send a commission to Syria with the express purpose of destroying or rendering useless all elephants collected at Apamea the Seleucid arsenal.

With no. 24 monograms disappear for a time from the coinages of our mint, their place being taken, by symbols. The style and appearance of this piece is too similar to the preceding numbers to separate it from them.

The custom, first brought out in this series, of using the fillet border only for the tetradrachms, is to be noted; the smaller sized denominations, such as the stater and drachm, still use the beaded border.

SERIES III, Circa 200–187 B. C.

OLDER PORTRAIT.

25 GOLD OKTADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Antiochus III to r. Ends of taenia flying. Fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (to r.) ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ (to l.). Apollo, naked but for chlamis draped over right thigh, seated to left on omphalos, holds arrow in outstretched r., rests l. on bow. On l., outside inscription, ROSE.

London, no. 1, Plate II.

26 TETRADRACHM.[10]

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, BOW IN CASE.

London, no. 27, Plate II; Paris, nos. 378, 380, and 381; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), nos. 10 and 11; Egger Sale, Jan., 1908, no. 580 (Pl. xvii).

[10] To this issue may belong Paris no. 373, with symbol: CORNUCOPIAE. As I have not seen the piece it has not been included. No. 582 in Egger Sale of Jan. 7, 1908, Plate xviii, with doubtful symbol in field, probably also belongs here.

27 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, BOW IN CASE. In exergue, AΣK.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 12, Plate II; Paris, no. 379.

28 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, BOW IN CASE. In exergue, ACK.

Newell, Plate II.

29 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, HORSE'S HEAD.

Newell, Plate II.

30 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, ANCHOR.

Newell (formerly Hirsch, Weber Sale, no. 4056), Plate II; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 14 (Pl. lxv, 10); Egger Sale xlv, no. 753 (Pl. xxi).

The coins of Series III, as a glance at our plates will show, are but a continuation of the later coins of Series II. The only differences to be noted are the ageing of the king's features, and the general adoption of a symbol in the place of a monogram to designate the officiating mint magistrate. On nos. 27 and 28 an additional magistrate places his initial letters in the exergue. These letters AΣK have, not surprisingly, been thought by numismatists to indicate a mint at Ascalon in Palestine. But if we attribute these two pieces to Ascalon we will have to also assign all the coins nos. 19-30 to this mint as well, which is manifestly absurd. The indication of mints by letters or symbols on Seleucid silver issues did not become general until the time of Alexander Balas, although from the end of the reign of Antiochus III the Tyrian mint is indicated by a club. So far as I know this is the only mint throughout the reigns of Antiochus III, Seleucus IV, Antiochus IV and V, and Demetrius I that placed any direct allusion to locality on its silver coinages. We can not separate nos. 27 and 28 from the remainder of this Series as they are all too closely bound together by style and appearance.

The features of Antiochus on these coins show, as stated above, a distinct advance in age over those of the previous Series.

The most interesting of these coins is the gold oktadrachm no. 25. Although it is unlikely, as has been suggested, that this large coin (a very rare denomination in the Seleucid series and only struck under Antiochus III) has anything to do with the famous despoiling of the temple of Anaïtis at Ecbatana at the commencement of the great Eastern expedition, we may perhaps attribute its appearance to the mighty preparations for the war against Rome. Or, with more likelihood, we may see in it an attempt to meet the demand for such pieces in the Phoenician cities after their removal from the Egyptian domination. Under the second and third Ptolemies, and at times under the later ones, many gold oktadrachms (of Phoenician weight) were struck in the mints of Sidon, Tyre, Ake-Ptolemais, Gaza, and Joppa. When these mints failed to strike any specimens of this particular denomination the mints of Cyprus and of Alexandria seem to have continued to do so. The inhabitants of these Phoenician cities would have grown accustomed to the use of a large denomination in gold and it might therefore have been in an attempt to conform with this usage that certain Seleucid mints proceeded to strike what was to them an unaccustomed piece. The apparent age of the features on our particular specimen would point to about the commencement of the second century B. C. as the date of striking. As by 197 B. C. the Phoenician coast was firmly in the possession of Antiochus this possibility is at least worth considering.

SELEUCUS IV, 188/7-176/5 B. C.

After the storm and stress of the glorious as well as disastrous reign of Antiochus III, surnamed the Great, the years of Seleucus IV, his son, passed in comparative peace and quiet. It is a period given up to the rebuilding of the Seleucid power, a power shaken and strained in every fibre of its being by the wars and turmoil, the victories and defeats of the past thirty years. This may have been a time of peace as it was not of prosperity — the losses of the colossal and far-flung wars of Antiochus were too great, the country groaned beneath the tribute which successful Rome had demanded of the defeated Empire. According to Polybius twelve thousand talents was the yearly stipend to be paid for the duration of twelve years. Theoretically this great assessment would have been completed by 178 B. C., but the bankrupt kingdom was unequal to the task and so we find that in the reign of

Antiochus IV the unsettled portions of the indemnity were still being paid.

31 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Seleucus IV to r. Fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (to r.) ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ (to l.). Apollo, naked but for chlamis draped over right thigh, seated to l. on omphalos, holds arrow in extended r., rests l. on bow. On l., outside inscription, STAR.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 1, **Plate II.**

32 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar, but border of dots.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, FILLETED PALM BRANCH.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 10 (Pl. lxvi, 4).

33 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar, but filleted border.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, WREATH-BEARING NIKE.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 2; Paris, no. 472.

34 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l. outside inscription, FILLETED PALM BRANCH.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 4; Paris, no. 469.

35 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, FILLETED PALM BRANCH. In exergue, ⏃.

Newell, **Plate II**; Paris, nos. 464, 465; Petrograd, no. 307 and (?) 308; Sotheby, Guzman Sale, 1914, no. 112 (Pl. vi); Rome, Strozzi Sale, 1907, no. 1666 (Pl. xi).

36 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar, but with a circle of dots.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, PALM BRANCH. In exergue, ⏃.

Paris, no. 467.

37 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar to no. 35.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, FILLETED PALM BRANCH. In exergue, M.

London, no. 9; Paris, no. 470; Amer. Num. Society, **Plate III**; Petrograd, nos. 311 and 312.

38 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, FILLETED PALM BRANCH. In exergue, Φ.

Paris, no. 468; Egger Sale, Jan. 7, 1908, no. 586, Plate III; London, no. 11.

39 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, PALM BRANCH and WREATH. In exergue, ⚓.

London, nos. 12 and 13, Plate III; Paris, nos. 462 and 463; Hirsch, Rhousopoulos Sale, no. 4450 (Pl. lv); J. Ward Coll., no. 785 (Pl. xix); Egger Sale, xli, 1912, no. 671 (Pl. xix); Newell; Amer. Num. Soc.; Petrograd, nos. 305 and 306; Egger Sale, Jan. 7, 1908, no. 587 (Pl. xviii); Coll. L. Walcher de Molthein, 1895, no. 2928 (Pl. xxv); Sotheby, Cumberland Clark Sale, 1914, no. 264 (Pl. vii); Hirsch, xxxiii, 1913, no. 894 (Pl. xxi); Egger Sale, xlvi, 1914, no. 2443 (Pl. xxxix).

40 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, FILLETED PALM BRANCH and APLUSTRE. In exergue, ⚓.

London, no. 8; Paris, no. 466; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 8, Plate III; Petrograd, no. 309.

41 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, PALM BRANCH. In exergue, ⊢Ρ.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 6.

The coinage of Antioch under Seleucus IV follows closely the model set by the last issues of Antiochus III. We see the magistrate's symbol in the field on the left outside the inscription; the fillet border on the obverse[11] for the tetradrachms; the circle of dots for the drachm; the same high relief for the head; the comparatively low relief for the reverse. With no. 35 and following, a magistrate's monogram is found in the exergue, while the symbol still continues in the field.

In contrast to the coinages of Antiochus III the issues of Seleucus, as a whole, seem to be divided between only three or four mints at most. The coins which we here attribute to Antioch easily predominate in number of varieties as well as in number of actual specimens. The issues of the supplementary mints of Tyre, Seleucia on the Tigris,

[11] Nos. 32 and 36 are the only exceptions.

and possibly one or two others, are scanty in comparison. Under Antiochus III, on the other hand, while the issues of Antioch are very plentiful and outnumber those of any other one mint, they do not comprise the bulk of his coinage by any means. This is undoubtedly due to the fact that Antiochus' reign was a long one; that his many and great campaigns kept him in the outlying portions of his empire which must have thrown a large part of the burden of coinage for military purposes upon the provincial mints rather than upon Antioch; and lastly his empire was of wide extent comprising many great and populous provinces with their capitals in which, because of the great distance from Antioch, and for reasons of economy which this fact involved, would be struck all money for local needs. When Seleucus came to the throne the empire had shrunk once more to Cilicia, Syria, Phoenicia, and the provinces to the East including Media. The new reign was not a warlike one and its energies were spent in trying to meet the financial drain of the huge indemnity exacted by Rome. It is most natural, therefore, that the coinage should have been principally minted at the capital and greatest city of the kingdom, Antioch.

ANTIOCHUS IV, EPIPHANES, 176/5-165/4 B. C.

The principal activity in the reign of Seleucus IV seems to have been the raising of money to meet the terrible drain of the Roman indemnity. The man who was charged with the thankless task of making the people meet this obligation was a certain Heliodorus, a citizen of Antioch. Not content with the great power he had thus secured he aimed higher and caused the assassination of Seleucus. At this time there was residing[12] in Antioch a younger[13] son of Seleucus, and him Heliodorus caused to be proclaimed king. But there were other and more powerful claimants. After the disastrous battle of Magnesia and the peace terms dictated by the victorious Romans, the younger son of Antiochus III, also named Antiochus, had been sent to Rome as a hostage. A short time previous to the unexpected end of Seleucus IV, at the request of the Roman Senate he sent his own son Demetrius as hostage in place of Antiochus. The latter set out for the East, but on his way stopped at Athens where he seems to have spent some time. It was here that the news of his brother's sudden death reached him.

[12] Diodorus xxx 7, 2.

[13] The oldest son, Demetrius by name, was at this time a hostage in Rome.

He first went to Asia Minor where he was warmly received by Eumenes king of Pergamum who caused him to be crowned with the royal diadem. A powerful army was also placed at his disposal with which to drive out the usurper and such persons as refused to see in him the rightful king of Syria. Details of the campaign are lacking but by the Summer of 175 B. C. we find Antiochus IV safely installed as the Seleucid king in Antioch. The little Antiochus, son of Seleucus IV, was done away with, his minister Heliodorus disappeared.

SERIES I, Circa 176/5–170/69 B. C.

a. Portrait of Antiochus IV.

42 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Antiochus IV to r. Ends of diadem hang down. Fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (to r.) ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ (to l.). Apollo, naked but for chlamis draped over right thigh, seated to l. on omphalos, holds arrow in outstretched r., rests l. on bow. On l., outside inscription, LYRE. In exergue, ⏃.

Paris, no. 514, **Plate III**; Bunbury Coll., no. 488 (Pl. iv); Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 2; Petrograd, no. 329.

43 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On r., outside inscription, LYRE. In exergue, ⏃.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 3 (Pl. lxvi, 8).

44 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, TRIPOD. On r., outside inscription, LYRE. In exergue, ⏃.

London, nos. 3 and 4, **Plate III**.

b. Portrait of young Antiochus.

45 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of the young Antiochus to r. Ends of diadem hang down. Fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (to r.) ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ (to l.). Apollo, naked but for chlamis draped over right thigh, seated to l. on omphalos, holds arrow in outstretched r., and rests l. on bow. On l., outside inscription, TRIPOD. In exergue, ⊢Ρ.

Newell (formerly Hirsch, Philipsen Sale, no. 2901), **Plate III**; London, no. 1; Paris, no. 329; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 1 (Pl. lxvii, 1).

46 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, TRIPOD. In exergue, ⅄.

Jameson Coll., no. 1683, **Plate III**; J. Ward Coll., no. 782 (Pl. xix); Petrograd, no. 383; Sotheby, O'Hagan Sale, 1908, no. 652 (Pl. xi).

47 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, TRIPOD. In exergue, ⍓.

Paris, no. 327.

48 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, TRIPOD. In exergue, ⍙.

Paris, no. 328; Petrograd, no, 384 (slight variation in monogram).

49 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, TRIPOD. In exergue, ⍑.

Paris, no. 326.

50 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, TRIPOD. In exergue, A.

London, no. 2; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 2.

51 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, TRIPOD. In exergue, B.

London, no. 3, **Plate III**; Paris, no. 330 (Pl. viii, 17); Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 3.

52 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, TRIPOD. In exergue, Δ.

Newell, **Plate III**; Paris, no. 325.

53 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, TRIPOD. In exergue, ⍒.

Petrograd, no. 382.

The first issue of Antiochus IV at Antioch follows the style and appearance of the last issues of Seleucus IV. A symbol is seen in the

left field, while the same monogram, ⅄, as on Seleucus' coins, is in the exergual space.

The coins (nos. 45-53) which bear the childlike features of the young Antiochus, being of unusual character, have been the occasion of much conjecture and controversy and have, in the last fifty years, been assigned to no less than four different persons. Gardiner in the British Museum Catalogue, and Babelon in the Paris Catalogue, have both followed Droysen and given these coins to an Antiochus, son of Seleucus III, known to us only from an inscription. He could have reigned for only a very short time in 223 B. C., that is, in the perturbed period that intervened between the death of Seleucus III and the general acknowledgment of Antiochus III as king. Both Niese[14] and Bevan[15] have discarded this attribution. In fact, style and monograms are both fatal to it. These coins have nothing in common with the known issues of Seleucus III, the fillet border does not appear till the reign of Antiochus III, the monograms and symbol are not common to the coinages of previous rulers or to the first issues of Antiochus III, and, finally, the very existence of this ephemeral personage is doubtful.

It has also been suggested that these coins were struck in honor of the young son, Antiochus by name, whom Antiochus III left behind him as regent in Antioch when he embarked upon his eastern adventures in 212 B. C. I was at first somewhat inclined to follow this theory until a close inspection of the issues of the young Antiochus and of Antiochus III showed more divergence than similarity between them. In the first place the fillet border on the coins of the third Antiochus is large and boldly cut, on those of the little Antiochus it is far less prominent and of very different character; in the second place the reverse surface of the former's coins is flat, of the latter's coins it is distinctly concave; thirdly the two series have not a single monogram in common, and fourthly the symbol TRIPOD, which is also found on certain coins of Antiochus III for Antioch (see no. 24), varies in the two coinages—in the one it stands upon a base, in the other it does not. Finally the fact that the little son of Antiochus III was ten years old when his father left him regent in Antioch would seem fatal to the attribution of these coins to him. The portrait they bear is distinctly that of a very young child not more than two or three years of age. If we forced ourselves to accept this attribution we would have to admit that the coins, because of the childishness of the features, could only have been

[14] Niese, *loc. cit.*, vol. II, p. 777, note to p. 172. [15] Bevan, *loc. cit.*, I, p. 300, note 3.

struck when Antiochus first left Antioch. In other words these pieces must have been struck nearer 212 B. C. than 200 B. C. But for this date their style is too late. Turn now to our Plate III where they have been placed following the coins issued by Seleucus IV. At once the close similarity between these two series becomes evident. Bevan has already drawn attention to the great likeness which exists between the features of Seleucus IV and this little Antiochus.[16] We should also note the same concavity of the reverses, the similarity in treatment of the fillet border, and lastly the fact that the monograms ⊢P and ⏃ are common to both series.

Historical reasons, however, do not permit us to attribute these pieces to the reign of Seleucus, for, although we know he had a second son Antiochus by name, he never made him co-regent, and the eldest son (and therefore heir to the throne) bore the name Demetrius, and was at this time a hostage in Rome. It does not seem likely that coins would be struck with the portrait of a second son unless he had actually been proclaimed a partner in the government.

Bevan[17] would see in these enigmatical pieces issues by the revolting Heliodorus in the name of the little Antiochus whose father he had just murdered. But the fatal objection to this theory lies in the fact that the time during which this Antiochus could have ruled before the arrival of Antiochus IV who claimed the succession and soon made good this claim, was far too short to allow the coin production from one mint to be so great as we know it to have been in this case. The coins with the infant's portrait are too common, consist of too many varieties of dies and monograms, and are of too careful workmanship to make it at all probable that they could have been issued during the few weeks of turmoil and uncertainty that intervened between the death of Seleucus IV and the arrival of Antiochus IV.

Another theory, put forward by Dr. Macdonald in the Jour. Hell. Stud., 23, 111 ff. and Cat. of Hunterian Coll., p. 53, is that these coins were struck by Antiochus IV in honor of his little son Antiochus who later became king and known as Antiochus V Eupator. This theory has been followed here as best fitting both the historical and numismatic evidence at our disposal. It is furthermore supported by the evidence certain Babylonian contract tablets of this period furnish us. The earliest[18] tablet we possess of the reign of Antiochus IV is dated on the

[16] *Loc. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 126, note 1.
[17] Bevan, *loc. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 126, note 1.
[18] Clay, Legal Documents from Erech, N. Y., 1913, Introd., page 14.

22nd day of the 2nd month, 138th year Aer. Sel. (= 174 B. C.) and is in the name of the joint kings Antiochus and Antiochus — evidently Antiochus IV and his eldest son Antiochus. The latest one we have with the *two* names is for the 29th day, 10th month, 142nd year, or 170 B. C. The present writer has in his possession another tablet dated the 6th day, 2nd month, 144th year (or 168 B. C.) *but with only the name of a single Antiochus.* This would seem to show that another tablet published by Dr. Clay and dated 12th day, 6th month, year 146 (or 166 B. C.) and also only bearing the single name Antiochus is to be assigned, not to Antiochus V Eupator as has been thought, but, because our literary sources speak of Antiochus IV reigning until 165/4 B. C., to Antiochus IV. In other words we gather from the evidence furnished by these Babylonian tablets that Antiochus IV associated his infant son with himself in the Government as early as 174 B. C., but by 168 B. C., at the latest, this arrangement, for some reason or other, had been discontinued in favor of his sole kingship. Now it is to just this period of double power that it seems best to assign the earliest tetradrachms which bear the portrait of the elder Antiochus, as well as all those which bear the infant's head. The two series are identical in style and fabric and bear in common the symbol TRIPOD. Probably in conjunction with this series were issued the following bronze coins which have for their obverse type a draped and veiled female bust, for their reverse type an elephant's head to left. All of these pieces have as symbol a TRIPOD, as on our silver issues, and, in addition, the following letters, ΘΕΚ (Hunter), Ω (Hunter), ΙΑ (Hunter), ⊢Ρ (Hunter), ⍓ (Paris, Plate x, 12), ⍁ (Paris, no. 487), and one with same types but a serrated edge and letter Δ (Hunter, no. 55). It is to be noted that not only have all these coins the same tripod symbol found on the silver issues but many of them have similar letters or monograms. Bronze coins of similar style and fabric are also to be found struck for Seleucus IV. Therefore the attribution to this period seems corroborated. Now that we also have such a numerous series of bronze coins to place alongside of the tetradrachms with the child's head the possibility of their having all been struck by the shadowy Antiochus, second son of Seleucus IV, in the short time he is supposed to have ruled, rapidly vanishes and we are only left with the alternative of the first years of the joint reigns of Antiochus IV and his son Antiochus.

SERIES II, Circa 169–167 B. C.

a. Regular issues.

54 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Antiochus IV to r. Ends of diadem hang down and are adorned with STARS. (On some specimens these are not visible being off the flan.) Fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ (to r.) ΘΕΟΥ | ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ (to l.). Zeus, naked to waist, seated to l. on high-backed throne, holds Nike in outstretched r., rests l. on sceptre. In exergue, ⅄.

London, no. 15, **Plate III**, also nos. 13 and 14; Paris, no. 531; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), nos. 21 and 22 (Pl. lxvi, 13); Amer. Num. Soc.; Petrograd, no. 343; J. Ward Coll., no. 786 (Pl. xix); Bunbury Coll., no. 491 (Pl. iv); A. Cahn Sale, xxxv, 1913, no. 210; Egger Sale, Jan., 1908, no. 590 (Pl. xviii); Sotheby, Ashburnham Sale, 1895, no. 211 (Pl. iv).

55 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar. Ends of diadem adorned with stars.

Rev. Similar. In exergue, ΙΣ.

Paris, no. 533, **Plate III**; Petrograd, no. 344.

56 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar. Ends of diadem adorned with stars.

Rev. Similar, but without monogram or letters.

Newell, **Plate IV**; London, nos. 11 and 12; Paris, no. 532; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), nos. 23 and 24; Amer. Num. Soc.; Jameson Coll., no. 1697 (Pl. lxxxv); Hirsch, Weber Sale, 1908, no. 4066 (Pl. liii).

The peaceful reign of Seleucus now began to bear fruit and the Seleucid Empire once more became a powerful factor in Eastern affairs. Particularly was this the case when Rome became involved in a mighty trial of strength with the Macedonian kingdom of Perseus. Antiochus was thus, to a certain extent, freed from the watchful and ever suspicious eye of Rome and did all that lay within his power to build up and perfect the Syrian army and navy. So successful was he in this that when the Egyptian kingdom, with remarkable lack of judgment and a poor understanding of conditions, attempted to assert the old claim to Coele-Syria and Phoenicia (lost to her under Antiochus III) Antiochus IV in two short and equally successful campaigns routed the Egyptian armies, seized the country from Memphis to the Sea, laid siege to Alexandria and all but captured it. At the last moment Rome, having successfully dealt with Perseus and being in no mind to see Egypt subject to Antiochus, intervened and forced a peace between the two kingdoms. Antiochus was thus cheated of his prize but gained immense prestige.

It was during these Egyptian campaigns that the preceding coins were probably struck. As the Babylonian contract tablets show us Antiochus was now reigning alone[19] and so the coins bear only his portrait.

The new types which were now introduced in the Seleucid coinage by Antiochus IV are interesting as they are so intimately associated both with the events of the time and with the personality, political aims, and aspirations of Antiochus himself. Brought up in Rome, inspired by Greek learning and ideals, quickened by his sojourn in Athens, the intellectual metropolis of all true Hellenes, Antiochus IV considered himself the foremost champion of Hellenism in the East. He attempted to imbue his oriental subjects with this spirit, to conform their customs to this ideal, and more or less to standardize their innumerable local cults to one common form of worship. To focus their worship on some Hellenic deity, as near like the local divinities as possible, was his solution of the problem. Zeus Olympios, the nearest to the innumerable Baals or Baalim that had come down from the earliest days in every township of the kingdom, therefore became the leading and, one might say, the official god of the Empire. Not content with this, Antiochus seems to have identified himself with Zeus, to have presented himself to the people as the "effulgence in human form of the Divine, a god manifest in the flesh."[20] For it is thus that he styles himself upon these new coin issues: Θεὸς Ἐπιφανής, the God manifest. Most appropriately the type chosen for the tetradrachms was that of Olympian Zeus, now become the great Divinity of the Seleucid empire, to whom Antiochus had commenced the erection at Athens of a magnificent and colossal temple but destined never to be finished until the time of Hadrian. On the citadel at Antioch another sumptuous temple, adorned with plates of gold, was dedicated to Jupiter Capitolinus; in the great temple of Apollo at Daphne a statue as near like the masterpiece of Pheidias at Olympia was set up; the temple of Jehovah in Jerusalem was rededicated to Zeus Olympios; the temple to Jehovah in Shechem in Samaria to Zeus Xenios. To make his own divine nature evident upon the coinage, Antiochus caused stars to be placed upon the ends of his diadem on the silver issues, and divine rays about his head on the bronze. Upon the reverses of the new tetradrachms is placed a close copy of the Zeus Olympios of Pheidias, the God seated in divine splendor holding a wreath-bearing Nike in his right hand,

[19] See above, page 21.

[20] Bevan, *loc. cit.*, Vol. II, page 154.

the God whose representative upon earth Antiochus claimed himself to be, the God who was to be the supreme divinity, the composite of all local gods, the emblem of the Syrian kingdom.

There are also bronze coins, consisting of two denominations, that appear to belong to this period. The larger has the radiated head of Antiochus on the obverse, and a standing figure of Zeus holding a sceptre on the reverse (B. M. Cat. Pl. xii, no. 6). The smaller denomination has a similar head upon the obverse and upon the reverse an advancing figure of Apollo holding a bow in his outstretched left and drawing an arrow from the quiver at his shoulder with his right (B. M. Cat. Pl. xii, no. 8). The specimen of this latter type in the writer's collection, corroborates the attribution to Antioch, as these types are restruck over an older coin with a veiled female bust on the obverse and an elephant's head upon the reverse — a coin which we have seen (page 21) is to be attributed to this mint for the first part of Antiochus' reign. The inscription on these two denominations is the same as on the tetradrachms, that is ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ. The style of the head is also identical with that of the silver issues. Because of similarity of style and types the municipal issues of Antioch (fig. 1) with the inscription ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΔΑΦΝΗΙ (B. M. Cat. nos. 61 to 71) should also be assigned to about this period. The tripod, which appears as an adjunct symbol on many of these bronze pieces should be compared with the same symbol on the tetradrachms of Series I.



Fig. 1.

SERIES II, Circa 168 B. C.

b. Commemorative Issues.

57 DRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Antiochus IV to r. Ends of diadem hang down and are adorned with STARS. Border of dots.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ (to r.) ΘΕΟΥ | ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ (to l.). Eagle standing to r. on thunderbolt.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 51, **Plate IV.**

58 BRONZE (Denomination I).

Obv. Head of Zeus-Serapis to r. wearing laurel wreath. Border of dots.

Rev. Inscription and types as on no. 57.

Paris, Pl. xiii, no. 14.



Fig. 2.

59 BRONZE. (Denomination II).

Obv. Head of Zeus-Serapis as on no. 58. *Rev.* Inscription and types as on no. 57.

London, Pl. xii, no. 11. (Fig. 2.)



Fig. 3.

60 BRONZE (Denomination III).

Obv. Bust of Isis wearing corn-wreath ending above in symbol of Isis. Circle of dots. *Rev.* Inscription and types as on no. 57.

London, Pl. xii, no. 12. (Fig. 3.)

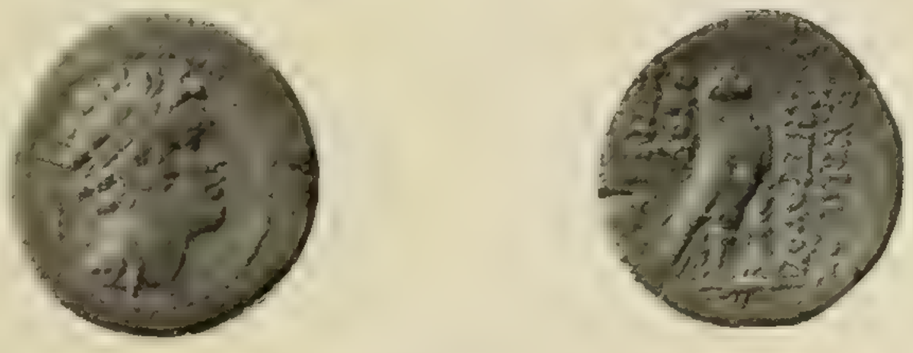


Fig. 4.

61 BRONZE (Denomination IV).

Obv. Radiated head of Antiochus IV to r. Border of dots. *Rev.* Inscription and types as on no. 57.

London, Pl. xii, no. 13. (Fig. 4.)

A full list of the known specimens of these most interesting coins can be found in Svoronos Τὰ *νομίσματα τῶν πτολεμαίων*. The drachm no. 57 is the key to the time and place of minting. Comparing it with the tetradrachms as illustrated on Plate IV it will be seen that it is of identical style and fabric. Particularly noticeable are the two STARS which adorn the ends of the diadem — the characteristic emblem of this issue. Following the custom prevalent since the time of Antiochus III the drachm has a beaded border, leaving the fillet border to the tetra-

drachms. The reverse type of the eagle standing upon the thunderbolt of Zeus serves, perhaps, a double purpose. On the one hand, being the well-known symbol adopted by the Ptolemies of Egypt for their far-travelling coins, its sudden and passing appearance upon the coins of Antiochus IV no doubt celebrates the contemporary triumphs over the Egyptian kingdom, on the other hand it is but a condensed form of the type of Zeus Nikephoros of the tetradrachms, and is therefore emblematic of the great Hellenic god, now the leading divinity of the Seleucid kingdom.

Accompanying this drachm and belonging to the same mint and date is the well-known series of bronze coins in four denominations described above under nos. 58 to 61. On account of their several types, which offer a definite and undoubted allusion to the victorious Egyptian campaigns of Antiochus IV, these pieces have ever been thought of as having been struck in Egypt itself. There are, however, many objections to this view which, when taken together, would seem fatal to its final acceptance. In the first place it is evident that these bronze coins cannot be separated from the drachm no. 57, as they resemble it in style and particularly in absolute identity of their inscriptions and reverse type. This drachm, however, as we have seen above, is too closely allied to the tetradrachms nos. 54, 55, and 56 to be thus easily separated from them and attributed to a distant mint in an alien country. The bronze coins themselves are comparatively common (Svoronos has altogether enumerated as many as 107 pieces) while Antiochus' stay in Egypt was of short duration, and sufficient opportunity to issue so many coins (which there undoubtedly were, since they furnish us with so many examples) would seem to be lacking. Furthermore, if these coins had been struck in Egypt[21] and distributed to the people, as has been supposed, they would have been principally used in that country and consequently *found* there to-day. Of the seven specimens in the writer's collection every one came to him from sources other than Egyptian, and this though on three separate occasions he spent several months in Egypt diligently collecting many thousands of coins. This is not meant to imply that these particular varieties are *never* found in Egypt — but that the writer has never seen any there or has never heard of any having been found there. In addition, four of the seven pieces in his collection were secured from definitely Syrian sources, another shows a patina (shiny black surface with reddish colored

[21] Babelon, Introduction, page c.

earth adhering) which is peculiarly Syrian and once seen can never be mistaken; and, as a whole, none of them show an appearance or patina generally associated with coins found in Egypt. Of the two specimens in the Yale collection of this type one was secured in Constantinople and the other came by purchase from Syria (probably Marash). There are several specimens in the collection of Prof. Torrey at Yale whose collection was formed in Jerusalem and the Syrian coast. Of all the 107 specimens enumerated by Svoronos only two are mentioned as belonging to an Egyptian collection, but not therefore necessarily *found* in Egypt. In other words, with such material as is available at the present time, no reference can be found of coins of this type having ever been unearthed in Egypt. In comparing these pieces with contemporary issues of the Egyptian mints no similarity except, in a general way, in types and weights, can be found. Their fabric is utterly unlike anything known for Egypt, but closely approaches the bronze issues we know to have been struck at this time in Syrian mints. The only coin that can definitely be assigned to Egypt for the period of Antiochus' sojourn there is the unique piece in M. Dattari's (Svoronos, *loc. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 234, no. 1422, Pl. xlviii, 7) collection which by style and types is undoubtedly of Egyptian origin, but utterly unlike the pieces now under discussion. Because both style and fabric of these four remarkable bronze coins are so at variance with a coin which we know to have certainly been struck in Egypt at this time, because such records of provenance as happen to be at our disposal point to Syria and not to Egypt, and because of the difficulties of time and opportunity, therefore our conclusion must be that the bronze coins nos. 58-61 can not possibly have been struck in Egypt. We must even go further and definitely assign them to the mint at Antioch because of the drachm no. 57. This piece can neither be separated from the bronze coins because of type and inscription, nor from the tetradrachms nos. 54-56 because of style, inscription, and the star adorned diadem. These tetradrachms, finally, can only be assigned to Antioch because of sequence of style and the continued appearance of the characteristic monogram ⏄ on the preceding Antiochene issues of Seleucus IV and Antiochus IV, as well as the succeeding issues of Antiochus IV, Antiochus V, and Demetrius I. The entire issue, on account of its unusual types and denominations, was evidently a commemorative one to celebrate the victories won over the Ptolemaic armies in 169 and 168 B. C.

SERIES III, Circa 167–165/4.

a. Commemorative Issues for 167 B. C.

62 GOLD STATER.

Obv. Diademed head of Antiochus IV to r. Ends of diadem hang down. Fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ (to r.) ΘΕΟΥ | ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ (to l.) ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ (in exergue). Zeus Olympios enthroned to l., naked to waist, legs placed parallel, holds wreath-bearing Nike in outstretched r., rests l. on sceptre.

Paris, no. 534, **Plate IV** ; London (dotted border)=Num. Chron., Ser. IV, Vol. XII, 1912, no. 27 (Pl. vii, 11).

63 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Laureated head of Zeus to r. Fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ (to r.) ΘΕΟΥ | ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ (to l.) ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ (in exergue). Zeus Olympios as on preceding coin. . The figure of Nike is sometimes to r. as on the tetradrachms of the previous issues, sometimes to l. as on the remainder of the coins of this issue.

Paris, no. 544, **Plate IV**, nos. 545 and 546 ; London, no. 22 (Pl. xi, 9) ; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 50 ; Newell ; Egger Sale xli, no. 684 (Pl. xix) ; Jameson Coll., no 1700 (Pl. lxxxv), formerly Sotheby, Rome Sale, no. 165 ; Petrograd, no. 349.

64 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Laureated head of Apollo to r. Fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ | ΘΕΟΥ (to r.) ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ | ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ (to l.). Apollo Kitharoedos to r., in long robes, holding lyre in l., and patera in outstretched r.

Jameson Coll., no. 1699, formerly Hirsch, Weber Sale, no. 4069, **Plate IV** ; Paris, no. 547 (Pl. xii, 12).

65 HEMIDRACHM.

Obv. Radiated and diademed head of Antiochus IV to r. Border of dots.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ (to r.) ΘΕΟΥ | ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ (to l.). Medusa head upon Aegis.

Paris, no. 529, **Plate IV**, no. 530 ; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 27 ; Coll. L. Walcher de Molthein, 1895, no. 2935 (Pl. xxv).

66 DIOBOL.

Obv. Similar to preceding.

Rev. Inscription as on preceding coin. Tripod on base.

London, no. 10, **Plate IV**.

b. Regular Issues for 167–165/4 B. C.

67 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Antiochus IV to r. Fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ (to r.) ΘΕΟΥ | ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ (to l.) ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ (in exergue). Zeus Olympios, naked to waist, one end of chlamis draped over left shoulder, legs parallel, holds wreath-bearing Nike in outstretched r., rests l. on sceptre. On l., outside inscription, Ϡ.

London, nos. 17 and 18; Paris, no. 536 (Pl. xii, 10); Newell; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 47; Sotheby, American Artist Sale, 1910, no. 119, **Plate IV**; Egger Sale, Jan. 7, 1908, no. 591 (Pl. xviii); Coll. Walcher de Molthein, 1895, no. 2934 (Pl. xxv); Rome, Strozzi Sale, 1907, no. 1669 (Pl. xi).

68 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, ΙΣ.

London, no. 16; Egger Sale xlv, 1913, no. 674 (Pl. xix).

69 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Ϟ.

Newell, **Plate IV**.

70 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, 𐤌.

Sotheby, Butler Sale, no. 250, **Plate IV**; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 48; Paris, no. 539.

71 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, 𐤏.

Amer. Num. Soc.

72 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, 𐤍.

Paris, nos. 535, 537 and 538; Petrograd, no. 345.

73 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, M.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 49 (Pl. lxvi, 18); Egger, Sale xli, no. 682 (Pl. xix).

In the Spring of 167 B. C. Antiochus, having safely returned from his Egyptian campaigns, sent messengers and deputations throughout the Greek world, inviting all and sundry to attend the magnificent games and other festivities shortly to be held near Antioch in honor of his recent achievements. Antiochus spared no expense to make this celebration a unique one of its kind. Our historians dilate upon the magnificence of the processions, the sumptuousness of the costumes and trappings, the extravagance of the displays and spectacles attending the festivities. It was undoubtedly on this auspicious occasion, to add to the general display and perhaps to furnish keepsakes for the countless visitors from distant lands, that Antiochus caused the commemorative series of coins to be struck which we have collected under nos. 62 to 66. On these coins we see the title *νικηφόρος* added to the already formidable and grandiloquent array, a title distinctly and unmistakably alluding to the great victories achieved in Egypt, and furnishing us with the final evidence needed to connect these coins with the celebrations of 167 B. C.

As the games and festivities were held ostensibly in honor of Apollo, the supposed progenitor of the House of Seleucus and its patron god, and of Zeus Olympios Nikephoros, now the chief divinity of the Seleucid empire, the scene of the celebration was most appropriately the beautiful grove and great temple of Apollo at Daphne, just outside the walls of Antioch. Here was located the famous colossal statue of that god, the work of Bryaxis, made of gold and wood with head and arms of marble. In this temple, too, Antiochus as we know, had shortly before erected a close copy of the chryselephantine statue of Zeus at Olympia, the masterpiece of Pheidias. The special types chosen for the tetradrachms of the commemorative issues perpetuate these two famous statues. On no. 63 we see the laurel crowned head of the Olympian Zeus with his smiling and benignant features, on the reverse of the same coin is displayed the entire statue of the god enthroned, holding out in his hand a wreath-bearing Nike. On no. 64 we see on the obverse the head of the Apollo statue, on the reverse the statue itself, Apollo Kitharoedos in long robes, holding lyre and patera.

Small coins of rather unusual denominations, for the Seleucid series, seem also to have been struck. On nos. 65 and 66 the king's head, surrounded with the divine rays, adorns the obverse, the reverse type of the hemidrachm is Athene's aegis adorned with the Gorgo head, perhaps similar to one in gold set up by Antiochus in Athens;

the reverse type of the diobol is Apollo's tripod. These two small denominations have been associated here with the larger pieces of special type because of the peculiarity of their types and because of the tripod which would seem to connect the smaller of the two, at least, with the Apolline tetradrachm. On both of these pieces the title *νικηφόρος* has been omitted, perhaps on account of lack of room. In the bronze coin with the reverse type of the Aegis, illustrated in the British Museum Catalogue, Pl. xii, no. 7, we have a contemporary issue in this metal. To the writer, however, it seems quite probable that at the time of the great celebrations at Antioch the special issues in bronze with peculiarly Egyptian types (described above under nos. 58 to 61) continued still to be issued. Their types are so especially appropriate to an occasion particularly celebrating the Egyptian victories of the king that their issue at this time would seem most likely. They have been catalogued under the immediately preceding period only because the silver drachm (no. 57) — from which they can not well be separated — belongs by style and fabric and by the star adorned diadem, to the coins of Series II, and because the inscriptions on all of these pieces omit the title *νικηφόρος* which is the particular characteristic of Series III. Because their types were so peculiarly appropriate to the celebrations of 167 B. C. it is quite possible that their issue was continued. In support of this it must be noted that we have no bronze coins at all of Antiochus IV inscribed with the *νικηφόρος* title. It is reasonable to suppose, however, that bronze coins were issued after 167 B. C.; and, if so, that it was these particular pieces because of the very appropriateness of their types celebrating the Egyptian victories.

The gold stater no. 62 has been assigned to the commemorative series because of the *νικηφόρος* title it bears and because, after the reign of Antiochus II, the appearance of gold issues in the Seleucid series always has something of the unusual about it. To augment the ostentation and sumptuous display of the great occasion, what better symbol of his wealth and power could Antiochus devise than to strike and distribute specimens of the beautiful gold stater seen on Plate IV, with the king's portrait on the obverse and Zeus Nikephoros enthroned upon the reverse?

Throughout this third period of coinage tetradrachms of the usual type continue also to be struck. They vary from those of Series II only in the fact that stars are no longer visible on the diadem ends, that the title *νικηφόρος* is always found in their exergues, and that the legs of the

Zeus figure are always parallel and not crossed as they were in the previous issue. While the commemorative issues appearing at Antioch in the summer of 167 B. C. bear no magistrate's letters or monograms, the regular coinage, continuing from this date to the end of Antiochus' reign, display them as usual. Among them we find Φ and ΙΣ of Series II and also a new one Π, whose owner is destined to hold office through several succeeding reigns.

ANTIOCHUS V EUPATOR, 164-162 B. C.

The unexpected and unfortunate death of Antiochus IV brought his young son to the throne, a child of but nine or ten years of age. He is known to history as Antiochus V and was given the surname Eupator.

At this time, it must be remembered, there still resided at Rome the son of Seleucus IV, Demetrius by name. But Demetrius in 175 B. C., by the swift action of his uncle Antiochus IV in hastening from Athens to Asia where he was immediately proclaimed king, had been forestalled in claiming the succession to the Seleucid throne. This prince, now grown into an ambitious and capable young man of twenty-three, enjoyed the friendship of many very influential Romans (among them our principal historian of this very period, Polybius) and formed a striking figure in the life of Rome. He naturally looked askance at what would seem to him the usurpation of a throne which by all rights was his. He sought, by every means at his command and with the help of his influential friends, to induce the Senate to acknowledge him king in the place of the boy Antiochus Eupator. The Senate, however, preferred to see the Seleucid kingdom at a disadvantage under the rule of a mere child, and so rejected Demetrius' petitions or returned evasive answers, while at the same time keeping a strict watch over his movements. In the meanwhile, in Syria, affairs were more or less in constant turmoil due to the machinations of various would-be regents and ambitious generals, each trying to turn to his own advantage the weakness of the child ruler, Antiochus; while serious rebellion in Judea and incipient revolt in Antioch kept matters in suspense.

To add to this, there arrived at Antioch in the year 163 B. C. Gnaeus Octavius, ambassador from Rome, sent to watch Seleucid

affairs, to block any attempt to increase the kingdom's power, and if possible and in the interests of Rome to destroy the elephants or any other asset of material strength the Syrian kingdom might still possess. So well and so harshly did Octavius follow the Senate's behest that he soon raised a storm of popular indignation against himself, in the course of which he was suddenly assassinated, an event which naturally brought Syria and Rome to the brink of war. At this juncture the young Demetrius seized the opportunity to escape from Rome — a dramatic incident vividly related to us by Polybius who himself was among the conspirators. Demetrius arrived safely in Palestine, and was enthusiastically welcomed by the people, now wearied with continual wars and the troubles due to the conflicting ambitions of various generals uncurbed by the too youthful Antiochus. Demetrius soon swept all before him and Antiochus V was murdered while trying to oppose him just outside the walls of Antioch, 162 B. C.

The short coinage at Antioch of the boy-king Antiochus V, is represented by the following coins:

74 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Antiochus V to r. Fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (to r.) ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ (to l.) ΕΥΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ (in exergue). Zeus Olympios, as on the issues of Antiochus IV, enthroned to l., naked to waist, one end of chlamis over shoulder, holds wreath-bearing Nike in outstretched r., rests l. on sceptre. On l., outside inscription, Ϟ.

London, no. 3, **Plate IV**, also no. 4; Sotheby, Butler Sale, no. 253 (Pl. vi); Egger Sale, Nov., 1909, no. 421 (Pl. xv); Petrograd, nos. 386 and 387; Coll. L. Walcher de Molthein, 1895, no. 2944 (Pl. xxvi); Hirsch, xxxiii, 1913, no. 899 (Pl. xxi); Sotheby, Cumberland Clark Sale, 1914, no. 266 (Pl. vii); Sotheby, Ashburnham Sale, 1895, no. 212 (Pl. v).

75 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Π.

London, nos. 5 and 6, **Plate IV**; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), nos. 4 and 5; Newell; Bunbury Sale, no. 495, now Jameson Coll., no. 1701 (Pl. xxvi); Paris, nos. 695 and 696 (Pl. xv, 9); Egger Sale xli, 1912, no. 686 (Pl. xix); Hirsch xxv, Philipsen, 1909, no. 2902 (Pl. xxxiii); Hirsch, Weber Sale, 1908, no. 4072 (Pl. liii); Amer. Num. Soc.; Egger Sale, Jan., 1908, no. 594 (Pl. xviii); Petrograd, no. 385; Coll. L. Walcher de Molthein, 1895, no. 2945 (Pl. xxvi).

76 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. On l., outside inscription, Δ|.

Newell, Plate IV ; Egger Sale, Jan., 1908, no. 595 (Pl. xviii).

77 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. On l., outside inscription, ⊢Ρ.

J. Ward Coll., no. 787, Plate IV.

77a TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar (same die as Plate IV, 77). *Rev.* Similar. In exergue, ΓΑ.

Electrotype in author's collection, present whereabouts of original unknown.

78 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar, but border of dots. *Rev.* Similar.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 6 (Pl. lxvii, no. 2)

The coinage for Antioch, comprising the above varieties, struck in the name of Antiochus V Eupator very closely follows the last coinages of his father in style and fabric. The two magistrates ⊕ and ΠΙ were also continued from the preceding issues.

DEMETRIUS I SOTER, 162-150 B. C.

Immediately after establishing himself firmly upon his throne at Antioch, Demetrius proceeded to reconquer the Babylonian provinces which had fallen away from the kingdom under the preceding reign. He soon overcame Timarchus, who had seized the Diadem, and was enthusiastically welcomed by the populace of Seleucia on the Tigris who hailed him as Saviour. It was here, in about the year 160 B. C., that Demetrius first received the title of Soter.

SERIES I, Circa 162–156 B. C.

a. Early Issues 1.

79 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Young head of Demetrius, diademed, to r. in laurel-wreath circle.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (to r.) ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ (to l.). Tyche, naked to waist, seated to l. on cippus adorned with two winged monsters whose bodies end in scrolls or fishes tails, holds sceptre in outstretched r. and cornucopiae in l. On l. outside inscription, ⊕.

Bunbury Coll., no. 499, Plate V ; Newell (same obverse and reverse dies as preceding specimen. The monogram ⊕ has been recut over another, perhaps ΓΑ).

80 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar, but Tyche (also naked to waist) seated on throne, only one leg of which is to be seen. This has form of a winged lion's leg. On l., outside inscription, Δ.

J. Ward Coll., no. 788, **Plate V.**

81 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar, but Tyche is completely draped and leg of throne has the form of a winged monster whose extremities end in scrolls. On l., outside inscripsion, Π.

Newell; London, no. 33, **Plate V**; Paris, no. 709; Petrograd, nos. 391 and 392; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 4; Hirsch Sale xix, Nov., 1907, no. 599, **Plate V.**

b. Early Issues 2.

82 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Demetrius as before but of lower relief.

Rev. Tyche as on no. 81. On l., outside inscription, ΔΑ.

Newell, **Plate V**; Egger Sale xlvi, 1914, no. 2448 (Pl. xxxix).

NOTE. — Probably the tetradrachm of Demetrius I, no. 29, on page 47 of the British Museum Catalogue, should be inserted here because it appears to bear the same monogram as our tetradrachm no. 77a (Antiochus V). As the attribution to Antioch would also depend upon the style and fabric of the piece, it has not been included here because of the impossibility of securing a cast at the present time.

83 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar to no. 82.

Rev. Tyche as on no. 81 but of smaller proportions. On l., outside inscription, Δ.

Newell, **Plate V**; London, no. 32; Petrograd, no. 397 (without casts of these last two pieces it is impossible to determine whether they belong here or under nos. 79 and 80).

84 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar to no. 82.

Rev. Similar to no. 83. In exergue, Π.

Newell, **Plate V**; Paris, no. 710; Petrograd, no. 393; London, no. 34; Coll. L. Walcher de Molthein, 1895, no. 2949 (Pl. xxvi); Hirsch xix, 1908, no. 599 (Pl. xv).

85 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar to no. 82.

Rev. Similar to no. 83. In exergue, Λ,

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll., Pl. lxvii, no. 4), no. 5; Paris, no. 715.

c. Later Issues.

86 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Older head of modified style and higher relief.

Rev. Similar to no. 82. On l., outside inscription, Φ.

Cumberland-Clark Sale, 1914, no. 269, Plate V.

87 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Μ or Μ.

Amer. Num. Soc., Plate V ; Paris, nos. 712 and 713 ; London, no. 27 ; Petrograd, no. 394.

88 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Α.

Paris, no. 717 ; Merzbacher Sale, Nov., 1910, no. 826 (Pl. 14).

89 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. No monogram.

Newell, Plate V ; London, no. 25.

90 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Α.

Hirsch, Sale xxxiii, 1913, no. 901 (formerly Egger, Sale Jan. 7, 1908, no. 596) Plate V.

91 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar to no. 89. On l., outside inscription, ΜΜ.

Paris, no. 711 (Pl. xvi, no. 3) ; London, no. 31.

92 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Α.

Newell, Plate V ; London, no. 26 ; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 2.

93 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, ΕΥ.

Newell, Plate VI.

94 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. In exergue, ΕΙ.

Newell, Plate VI.

The mint at Antioch, upon the arrival of Demetrius, immediately began the coining of tetradrachms bearing the portrait, name, and types of the new king. The two magistrates ⏃ and ⏁, who had officiated under Antiochus V, were evidently left in office and display their monograms upon the new coinage. There are several reasons for placing nos. 79, 80, and 81 at this particular point and so seeing in them the first coinages in Antioch of Demetrius. In the first place his features are more youthful than on any of his other coins; the figure of Tyche on nos. 79 and 80 is undraped to the waist, a peculiarity not found on any of the later coinages and therefore most likely to occur at the commencement when details of the type had not yet become fixed; the throne too, has not yet become stereotyped, for on no. 79 we see what appears to be a cippus decorated with the winged monsters which by no. 81 have become the sole support of Tyche and therefore unexplainable without this coin to serve as a prototype; and, finally, the same magistrates are functioning as under the preceding reign. On the obverse, instead of the fillet border as on the coinages of Antiochus III to V, we find a laurel wreath border. This innovation may perhaps be more or less directly due to the final successes which Demetrius gained over his adversaries just outside the walls of Antioch. It is quite possible that he actually attributed his victory to Apollo. For it must be remembered that Apollo had been, par excellence, the patron divinity of the Seleucid dynasty down through the reign of Seleucus IV. Antiochus IV Epiphanes, however, seems to have caused Apollo's worship to become of secondary importance in favor of Zeus Olympios. As a type Apollo was almost completely ousted from the Seleucid coinage during the reigns of Epiphanes and his son Antiochus V. With the return to power of the legitimate branch, in the person of Demetrius, Zeus disappears until the succeeding reign when Alexander Balas (who gave himself out as a second son of Epiphanes) replaces Zeus and discards Apollo. Demetrius II, son of Demetrius I, succeeds Alexander and once more Apollo assumes his rightful place. It is quite possible that in the tetradrachm illustrated in the British Museum Catalogue, Pl. xiv, no. 3, we should recognize the first coinage of Demetrius Soter upon his capture of Antioch. There is considerable artistic affinity between the head on this coin and the heads on our nos. 79, 80, and 81 to support this suggestion. If this is the case then Apollo was actually introduced again on the earliest of Demetrius' coinages to suggest the return of the legitimate branch. When Demetrius finally decided upon

a type of more personal significance (is the female divinity on his later coins really intended to be Demeter?) the favor of Apollo was still retained by placing that god's symbolic plant, the laurel, on the obverse in the form of a wreath surrounding the king's portrait, a procedure that at the same time, immortalizes Demetrius as the Victor.

The exact significance of the reverse type of the seated goddess has never been satisfactorily explained. It is even uncertain whether the figure is intended to be that of a Tyche or of Demeter. The fact that she is partially undraped on the earliest coins would seem inimical to either explanation, particularly so to the latter. It seems almost certainly to have been copied from some statue but from what one or why is still an enigma.

The coins have been roughly classed in what appears to have been their general order of appearance. The details of the several issues have only been worked out in a general way as the writer has had at his disposal only such pieces as have been illustrated in the various catalogues or exist in actual specimens in American collections.

SERIES II, Circa 156–155 B. C.

a. First Issue.

95 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Demetrius to r. Laurel wreath border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (to r.) ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ (to l.). Tyche as on no. 94. On l., outside inscription, Α.

London, no. 30; Paris, no. 716; Petrograd, nos. 395/6; London (see Num. Chron., Ser. III, vol. X, 1890, Pl. xix, 19).

96 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, ΑΙ.

Amer. Num. Soc., Plate VI; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 3; Paris, no. 718.

97 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, ΗΡ.

London, no. 28; Paris, no. 719.

98 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. In exergue, ΗΡ.

Paris, no. 720; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 6; Newell, Plate VI.

b. Second Issue with title Σωτήρ.

99 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (to r.) ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ | ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (to l). Tyche as on no. 95. On l., outside inscription, Α.

Sotheby, Headlam Sale, May, 1916, no. 442, **Plate VI**; Newell.

100 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar to preceding. On l., outside inscription, ΑΙ.

Newell, **Plate VI**; London, no. 23.

101 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. In exergue, ΗΡ.

London, no. 24; Egger Sale xlvi, 1914, no. 2454 (Pl. xxxix).

By their monograms and the style of their reverse dies the coins of Series II are the immediate forerunners of the dated coins we will study in the next paragraph. The title Σωτήρ also links these coins with those that follow. Although this title had already appeared upon the Babylonian issues of Demetrius (it was given him by the people of Seleucia on the Tigris as early as 160 B. C.) it does not appear upon the coinage of the Antiochene mint until about 155 B. C. as proved by the succeeding pieces — which bear the date ΗΝΡ of the Seleucid Era,— that is from October 155 to the end of September 154 B. C.

SERIES III, 155–150 B. C.

a. Dated ΗΝΡ Oct. 155 to Oct. 154.

102 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Demetrius to r. Laurel wreath border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (to r.) ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (to l.). Draped figure of Tyche seated to l. on throne the back leg of which consists of winged monster the body of which ends in two scrolls. Tyche holds short sceptre in outstretched r., and cornucopiae in l. On l., outside inscription, ⊠ | Α. In exergue, ΗΝΡ.

London, no. 6; Newell; Paris, no. 742.

103 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, ⊠ | ΑΙ. In exergue, ΗΝΡ.

London, no. 10; Paris, no. 743; Petrograd, no. 424; Hirsch, Hoskier Sale, 1907, no. 438, **Plate VI**.

104 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, 𐤓 | 𐤄𐤐. In exergue, HNP.

London, no. 13; Newell; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 18.

105 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, 𐤓 | MI. In exergue, HNP.

Paris, no. 741.

b. Dated ΘNP Oct. 154 to Oct. 153.

106 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, 𐤓 | 𐤀. In exergue, ΘNP.

London, no. 7; Paris, no. 745; Petrograd, no. 425; Jameson Coll., no. 1702 (Pl. lxxxvi).

107 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, 𐤓 | 𐤋. In exergue, ΘNP.

Newell; Paris, no. 747; Yale Univ. Coll.

108 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, 𐤓 | 𐤄𐤐. In exergue, ΘNP.

Newell, **Plate VI**; London, no. 14.

109 DRACHM.

Obv. Head as above, but in fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (to r.) ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (to l.): Cornucopiae. Below, 𐤓 𐤋 | ΘNP.

Newell, **Plate VII**; Paris, no. 746; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 22; Egger Sale xlv, 1913, no. 682 (Pl. xix).

110 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. Below, 𐤓 𐤄𐤐 | ΘNP.

London, no. 36.

c. Dated ΞP Oct. 153 to Oct 152.

111 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar to no. 102.

Rev. Similar to no. 102. On l., outside inscription, 𐤓 | 𐤀. In exergue, ΞP.

Newell, **Plate VI**; London, no. 8; Paris, no. 748.

112 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, 囧 | ΑΝ. In exergue, ΞΡ.

Newell ; London, no. 11 ; Paris, no. 750.

113 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, 囧 | ΗΡ. In exergue, ΞΡ.

London, nos. 15 and 16 ; Paris, no. 752 ; Petrograd, nos. 429 and 430.

114 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar to no. 109.

Rev. Similar to no. 109. Below, 囧 ⌓ | ΞΡ.

London, no. 39 ; Paris, no. 749 ; Petrograd, no. 427 ; Newell ; Coll. L. Walcher de Molthein, 1895, no. 2955 (Pl. xxvi) ; Yale Univ. Coll.

115 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. Below, 囧 ΑΝ | ΞΡ.

Newell ; Paris, no. 751 ; Petrograd, no. 428 ; Egger Sale xli, no. 694 (Pl. vii) ; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 23.

116 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. Below, 囧 ΗΡ | ΞΡ.

Paris, nos. 753 (Pl. xvi, no. 15) and 754 ; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 24 ; Yale Univ: Coll.

d. Dated ΑΞΡ Oct. 152 to Oct. 151 B. C.

1st Issue.

117 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar to no. 103.

Rev. Similar to no. 103. On l., outside inscription, 囧 | ⌓. In exergue, ΑΞΡ.

London, no. 9.

118 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, 囧 | ΑΝ. In exergue, ΑΞΡ.

London, no. 12, Plate VI ; Paris, no. 756 ; Newell.

119 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, 囧 | ΗΡ. In exergue, ΑΞΡ.

London, nos. 17 and 18 ; Paris, no. 755 ; Petrograd, no. 431 ; Newell ; Coll. L. Walcher de Molthein, 1895, no. 2951 (Pl. xxvi); Hirsch xxx, Barron Sale, 1911, no. 591 (Pl. xviii).

120 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar to no. 110. *Rev.* Similar to no. 110. Below, 𐅄 𐅃 | AΞP.

London, no. 40; Paris, no. 761; Petrograd, no. 433; Newell; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.) no. 27.

121 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. Below, 𐅄 𐅂 | AΞP.

Paris, nos. 758 and 762; Petrograd, no. 432; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 25; Yale Univ. Coll.

122 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. Below, 𐅄 𐅁 | AΞP.

London, no. 37, Plate VII, no. 38; Paris, nos. 763 and 764; Newell; Petrograd, no. 435; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 26 (Pl. lxvii, 7).

2nd Issue.

123 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar to no. 103. *Rev.* Similar to no. 103. On l., outside inscription, 𐅄 | MI. In exergue, AΞP.

London. no. 19.

124 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. On l., outside inscription, 𐅄 | 𐅆. In exergue, AΞP.

London, no. 20; Newell, Plate VI; Egger Sale xli, 1912, no. 691 (Pl. xix).

125 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. On l., outside inscription, 𐅄 | 𐅇. In exergue, AΞP.

Newell, Plate VI.

126 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar to no. 110. *Rev.* Similar to no. 110. Below, 𐅄 𐅆 | AΞP.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 28; Paris, nos. 759 and 760; H. R. Drowne Coll.; Newell, Plate VII; Schulman, White-King Sale, no. 568 (Pl. vi); Yale Univ. Coll.

127 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. Below, 𐅄 P. AΞP.

Newell, Plate VII.

e. Dated ΒΞΡ Oct. 151 to Spring 150.

128 GOLD TWO-AND-A-HALF STATER.

Obv. Goddess holding sceptre in r. and cornucopiae in l., seated on throne to l. Circle of dots. Beneath throne, ΒΛ (erased). On l., in field, ΒΛ.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ (to r.) ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (to l.). Double cornucopiae adorned with taenia. On r., between inscription and design, ΒΞΡ. On l., between inscription and design, 囧 | ΣΑ.

Paris, no. 765, Plate VII.

129 GOLD DISTATER.

Obv. Similar to preceding. On l., in field, Β.

Rev. Similar. On r., between inscription and design, ΒΞΡ. On l., between inscription and design, 囧 | ΑΝ.

Berlin (Zeitschrift für Numismatik, vol. VI, 1879, p. 2).

130 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar to no. 102.

Rev. Similar to no. 102. On l., outside inscription, 囧 | 囧. In exergue, ΒΞΡ.

Egger Sale, Jan., 1908, no. 599, Plate VII; Paris, no. 767 ; Newell.

131 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, 囧 | 冂. In exergue, ΒΞΡ.

Paris, no. 766 ; (London, nos. 21 and 22 with uncertain monogram may go here).

132 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, 囧 | 冂. In exergue, ΒΞΡ.

Paris, no. 768 ; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 21, (Pl. lxvii, 6).

133 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar to no. 109.

Rev. Similar to no. 109. Below, 囧 冂 | ΒΞΡ.

Jameson Coll., no. 1704 (Pl. lxxxvi).

134 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. Below, 囧 冂 | ΒΞΡ.

Paris, no. 769 ; Petrograd, no. 437.

Demetrius ruled his kingdom with a firm hand but, perhaps for that very reason, was never able to gain the affections of his subjects, and by his foreign policies he soon aroused the enmities of neighboring states. By 151 B C. a coalition of Ptolemy VII of Egypt, Ariarathes

V of Cappadocia, and Attalus II of Pergamum was formed against Demetrius. For some years previous to this time the Pergamene king had been championing the claim to the Syrian throne of a certain Alexander, surnamed Balas, who gave himself out as the second son of Antiochus IV. This person was now assisted with an army by the allied kings and effected a landing at Ptolemais in Palestine. Demetrius evidently felt that with sedition at home, and three powerful kingdoms against him his chances of successful resistance were small. He therefore sent his two little sons, Demetrius and Antiochus, away into safety and with that part of the army that could still be relied upon he advanced against Alexander. In the battle that followed his army was overwhelmed and Demetrius himself perished, fighting bravely to the end. This event took place in the spring of 150 B. C.[22]

The third and last series of the Antiochene coinages of Demetrius is distinguished by bearing dates running from ΗΝΡ to ΒΞΡ (158-162 Aer. Sel.); by a uniform coinage of tetradrachms and corresponding drachms; and by the fact that the minting of these pieces was under the constant supervision of one magistrate signing himself 𐅃, and assisted by three or more subordinates per year. Thus between October 155 and October 154 B. C. four subordinates were functioning 𐅀, 𐅁, 𐅂, and 𐅄. For the two years between October 154 and October 152 only the three magistrates 𐅀, 𐅁, 𐅂, were active. The first issues of year ΑΞΡ (152-151 B. C.) were issued under 𐅃's supervision with the assistance of the same three 𐅀, 𐅁, 𐅂 who were later replaced by 𐅄, 𐅆, and 𐅇. The following and last year of the coinage 𐅆, 𐅈, and a new one 𐅉 were active for the silver, 𐅁 and ΣΑ for the special gold issues. This issue came to an end, naturally, with the death of Demetrius. The well known gold two-and-a-half stater piece (Paris, Pl. xvii, no. 1) was struck in Antioch along with the last issue of tetradrachms, as was also the corresponding gold double stater of the Berlin collection. These gold coins bear the monogram 𐅃, the letters ΣΑ or 𐅁 and the date ΒΞΡ. The monograms show conclusively that these unusual pieces were struck at the same mint as our tetradrachms. Both Friedlaender (Zeit. für Num., vol. vi, 1872, pp. 2-7) and Babelon (Introd. cxx) have shown that these coins could not possibly have been struck in Cyprus as suggested by Lenormant (Revue numismatique, 1855, p. 89). Friedlaender, indeed, goes further, and on account of the monogram 𐅁, attributes the Berlin specimen to Antioch. We now see that both coins

[22] Bevan, *loc. cit.*, p. 211.

should be assigned to that mint. The immediate occasion for the issue of these curious denominations was probably the danger which threatened the rule of Demetrius in 150 B. C. and the consequent necessity for raising and equipping his army to meet it. Friedlaender is no doubt correct in assigning the unusual appearance of marks of value (Β and ΒΑ) found on these pieces to the confusion which might arise in distinguishing the two coins — both having similar types and the difference in weight being so slight as not to be easily discernible without recourse to the balance.

Both the British Museum and Paris catalogues have attributed the tetradrachms to various mints, e. g. those with the monogram ⌂ to Apamea, ΑΝ to Antioch, ΗΡ to Heraclea, etc. When all these pieces have been assembled, however, it is clearly seen that they must have emanated from one and the same mint. The use of common obverse dies between coins bearing different monograms; steady and uniform progression in style and fabric, year by year, throughout the entire series; the appearance on *all* the coins of the one monogram ⌘, and other minor points place the fact of a single mint for the coins of Series III beyond a doubt, and if of Series III, then too of Series I and II because they are definitely bound together by style and community of monograms. Of all the cities in the realms of Demetrius it was obviously only at Antioch, the metropolis and capital of the kingdom, that there could have been located the mint that issued such a large, yet compact and consecutive a series as the one here described. It is certainly the largest and most complete of all that monarch's coinages, and it is inconceivable that any other mint than Antioch could have issued it, and besides, by style and monograms it is closely bound to the preceding Antiochene issues of Antiochus IV and Antiochus V.

The bronze issues of Demetrius for Antioch are possibly to be found in the very common series of three types with serrated edges brought together by Dr. Macdonald in his catalogue of the Hunterian Collection, pp. 55 and 56, nos. 8 to 15. These coins, comprising three denominations (I, Head of Apollo, rev. Tripod; II, Head of Artemis, rev. Bow and quiver; III, Horse's head, rev. Elephant's head), are easily the commonest of all the bronze coins found to-day with the name of Demetrius. Hence it is most likely that they were struck at the principal mint, Antioch, and their style is certainly in favor of this attribution especially as we have noted that bronze coins with serrated edges were struck here under Seleucus IV and Antiochus IV. Dr.

Macdonald also calls our attention to a corresponding series of three denominations with the same types but with plain edges and of half the weight. These should be assigned to the same mint.

In addition to Antioch, Seleucia on the Tigris and Tyre were two very active mints under Demetrius, supplemented by small and intermittent issues at one or two other cities of the kingdom.

ALEXANDER I BALAS, 150-145 B. C.

Alexander, when he had once become king, seems to have surrendered himself to a life of ease and license. He spent most of his time in the southern portion of his dominions, particularly at Ake-Ptolemais or in Phoenicia.[23] It was perhaps due to this predilection that the mints of the Phoenician cities of Tyre, Sidon, and Berytos became so active under his rule. Never-the-less, the mint at Antioch lost little of its importance and continued to coin, if not quite so profusely as under Demetrius, still in sufficient quantities to make its coins fairly common to this day. As yet no coins of Alexander Balas have been published, of the series attributable to Antioch, bearing the date ΒΞΡ, the last year of Demetrius' reign and the one in which Antioch fell to the new ruler.

SERIES I (Dated issues).

a. Dated ΓΞΡ Oct. 150 to Oct. 149.

135 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Alexander I to r. Fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ (to r.) ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ | ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ (to l.). Zeus, with chlamis draped over l. shoulder and legs, seated to l. on throne (which sometimes has back), holds wreath-bearing Nike in outstretched r., rests l. on sceptre. On l., outside inscription, CORNUCOPIAE. In exergue, ΓΞΡ 𐡌.

London, no. 8; Newell, **Plate VII**; Sotheby, Cumberland-Clark Sale, 1914, no. 273 (Pl. vii).

[23] Bevan, *loc. cit.*, p. 213, and note 3.

136 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, CORNUCOPIAE. In exergue, ΓΞP 𐅂.

Paris, no. 871.

137 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, CORNUCOPIAE, Θ. In exergue, ΓΞP.

Newell (same obverse die as no. 135 Newell).

138 DRACHM.

Obv. Head of Alexander I diademed to r. in dotted circle.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ (to r.) ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ (to l.). Apollo seated to l. on omphalos, holds arrow in outstretched r., rests l. on bow. On l., outside inscription, CORNUCOPIAE. In exergue, ΓΞP.

London, no. 17 (Pl. xvi, 2); Paris, no. 874; Petrograd, no. 483.

139 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, CORNUCOPIAE. In exergue, ΓΞP 𐅂.

Jameson Coll., no. 1713 (Pl. lxxxvi).

140 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, CORNUCOPIAE and 𐅃. In exergue, ΓΞP.

Paris, no. 873; Petrograd, no. 485.

141 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, CORNUCOPIAE and E. In exergue, ΓΞP.

Paris, no. 872.

b. Dated ΔΞP Oct. 149 to Oct. 148.

142 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar to no. 135.

Rev. Similar to no. 135. On l., between figure and inscription, 𐅁. On l., outside inscription, ΠP. In exergue, ΔΞP.

Newell, **Plate VII**; London, no. 11; Paris, no. 876; Hirsch, Rhousopoulos Sale, no. 4455 (Pl. lvi).

143 TETRADRACHM.
Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., between figure and inscription, 𐤀. On l., outside inscription, 𐤁. In exergue, ΔΞP.

London, no. 10.

144 TETRADRACHM.
Obv. Similar.

Rev Similar.. On l., between figure and inscription, 𐤀. On l., outside inscription, 𐤋𐤐. In exergue, ΔΞP.

Roll. & Feuard. Sale, June 9th, 1913, no. 331 (Pl. xi).

145 TETRADRACHM.
Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., between figure and inscription, 𐤀. In exergue, ΔΞP, 𐤁.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 2.

146 TETRADRACHM.
Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., between figure and inscription, 𐤀. In exergue, ΔΞP, 𐤋𐤐.

London, no. 9.

147 TETRADRACHM.
Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., between figure and inscription, 𐤀. In exergue, ΔΞP, 𐤐𐤁.

Paris, no. 875 (Pl. xviii, 4).

148 TETRADRACHM.
Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., between figure and inscription, 𐤀. In exergue, ΔΞP, 𐤇.

Egger Sale xlv, 1913, no. 685 (Pl. xix).

149 DRACHM.
Obv. Similar to no. 138.

Rev. Similar to no. 138. In exergue, ΔΞP.

London, no. 18.

SPECIAL ISSUE FOR THIS YEAR.

150 TETRADRACHM.
Obv. Head of Alexander I diademed to r. in fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ (to r.) ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ (to l.). Athene, helmeted and draped, standing to l., holds wreath-bearing Nike in outstretched r., rests l. on spear and shield. On l., between figure and inscription, 𐤀 𐤐𐤁. In exergue, ΔΞP.

London, no. 15, Plate VII.

c. Dated ΕΞΡ Oct. 148–Oct. 147.

151 TETRADRACHM.
Obv. Similar to no. 135.

Rev. Similar to no. 135. On l., between figure and inscription, 𐡀. In exergue, ΕΞΡ, ΓΤΡ.

Newell, **Plate VII.**

152 TETRADRACHM.
Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., between figure and inscription, 𐡀. In exergue, ΕΞΡ, ΓΜΡ.

Petrograd, no. 487.

153 TETRADRACHM.
Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., between figure and inscription, 𐡀. In exergue, ΕΞΡ, Ω.

Paris, no. 877.

154 TETRADRACHM.
Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., between figure and inscription, CORNUCOPIAE. In exergue, ΕΞΡ, ΗΓ.

Paris, no. 879.

155 TETRADRACHM.
Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., between figure and inscription, 𐡃. In exergue, ΕΞΡ, ΓΡ.

Paris, no. 878.

156 TETRADRACHM.
Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., between figure and inscription, 𐡊. In exergue, ΕΞΡ, Σ.

Petrograd, no. 488.

d. Dated ΣΞΡ Oct. 147–Oct. 146.

157 TETRADRACHM.
Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., between figure and inscription, 𐡊. In exergue, ΣΞΡ, Ζ.

Egger Sale xli, 1912, no. 697, **Plate VII**, perhaps also Egger Sale, Jan., 1908, no. 603 (Pl. xviii), monogram in exergue incomplete.

158 TETRADRACHM.
Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. (Throne has eagle decoration on leg.) On l., between figure and inscription, 𐡊. In exergue, ΣΞΡ, Θ.

Paris, no. 881, **Plate VII.**

159 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. (Throne has plain leg.) On l., between figure and inscription, ⍙. In exergue, ΣΞΡ, Θ.

Newell, Plate VII.

160 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., between figure and inscription, ⍙. In exergue, ΣΞΡ, ⍋.

Coll. L. Walcher de Molthein, 1895, no. 2966 (Pl. xxvi).

161 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., between figure and inscription, ⍙. In exergue, ΣΞΡ and ⍀.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 3.

e. Dated ΙΞΡ after Oct. 146.

162 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., between figure and inscription, ⍋. In exergue, ΙΞΡ and uncertain monogram.

London, no. 12.

The coin catalogued under no. 882 in the Paris catalogue has not been incorporated here as it has not been seen and seems to vary from any of the preceding coins in having a monogram under the throne. It may or it may not have been struck at Antioch.

SERIES II (Undated Issues).

163 GOLD STATER.

Obv. Diademed head of Alexander I to r. in circle of dots.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ (to r.) ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ | ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ (to l.). Zeus seated as on tetradrachm no. 135.

Paris, no. 793 (Pl. xvii, 9).

164 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar to no. 135.

Rev. Similar to no 135. In exergue, ΠΡΟ.

Egger, Prowe Sale, 1904, no. 1546 (Pl. x).

165 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. (Throne leg sometimes decorated with eagle.) In exergue, ⍢.

Newell, Plate VIII; Paris, no. 797; Petrograd, nos. 448 and 449.

166 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. (Throne leg sometimes decorated with eagle.) In exergue, ⊬ΔΡ.

Sotheby, Bunbury Sale, no. 505 (Pl. v); Paris, no. 795 (Pl. xvii, 10); Yale Univ. Coll.

167 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. In exergue, ⊢Ρ.

J. Ward Coll., no. 789 (Pl. xix); Sotheby, O'Hagan Sale, 1908, no. 669 (Pl. xi).

168 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. In exergue, ΓΡ.

Jameson Coll., no. 1707 (Pl. lxxxvi).

169 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. In exergue, ⍻.

Petrograd, no. 445 (has not been seen, but possibly belongs to our series).

170 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. In exergue, Δ.

Egger Sale, Jan., 1908, no. 602, Plate VIII.

171 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. In exergue, Μ.

Warren Coll., no. 1302 (Pl. xxx).

171a TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. In exergue, Ϲ.

Yale Univ. Coll.

171b TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. In exergue, Ϲ.

H. R. Drowne Coll.

Undated Drachms contemporary with tetradrachms of years ΔΞΡ — ΖΞΡ.

Series A (with ⍲).

172 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar to no. 138. *Rev.* Similar to no. 138. On l., outside inscription, ⍲. In exergue, ⍓.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 10; London, no. 25; Petrograd, no. 453.

173 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. On l., outside inscription, ⍲. In exergue, ⊬ΔΡ.

London, no. 26; H. R. Drowne Coll.

174 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev* Similar. On l., outside inscription, 𐤀. In exergue, 𐤌.

London, no. 24.

175 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. On l., outside inscription, 𐤀. In exergue, 𐤈.

Egger Sale xlv, 1913, no. 758, **Plate VII**; Petrograd, no. 462.

Series B (with 𐤁).

176 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. In exergue, 𐤁.

Newell, **Plate VII**; Paris, no. 802; Petrograd, no. 458; Yale Univ. Coll.; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 6.

177 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. In exergue, 𐤁 𐤄.

Paris, no. 806.

Series C (with 𐤒).

178 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. In exergue, 𐤒.

Newell; Paris, no. 796.

179 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. In exergue, 𐤒 𐤄.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 12.

180 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. In exergue, 𐤒 𐤈.

Amer. Num. Soc.

181 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. In exergue, 𐤒 𐤎.

Petrograd, no. 447.

Series D (with 𐤑).[21]

182 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. In exergue, 𐤑 𐤈.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 8.

[21] Because of minuteness this monogram on the drachms often has the form 𐤀.

183 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. In exergue, ⟁ A.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 5.

184 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. In exergue, ⟁ Ꝑ.

Newell.

Series E (Miscellaneous monograms).

185 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. In exergue, K ΚΑΡ.

Newell.

186 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. In exergue, Θ.

London, nos. 21 and 22; Paris, no. 805.

187 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. In exergue, ΠΡ.

Paris, no. 803; Petrograd, no. 459.

188 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. In exergue, Δ.

London, nos. 19 and 20. (Here too Paris, no. 804?)

189 HEMIDRACHM.

Obv. Diademed and radiate head of Alexander I to r. in circle of pearls.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (to r.) ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ (to l.). Apollo standing to l. holding arrow in outstretched r., rests l. on bow. On l., outside inscription, CORNUCOPIAE.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 18 (Pl. lxvii, 11).

190 HEMIDRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. On l., between figure and inscription, ⟁.

London, no. 29 (inscription reads ΑΛΕΞΑΤΟ̊ΡΟΣ).

191 HEMIDRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. On l., between figure and inscription, ⟁.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 17.

192 HEMIDRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. On l., between figure and inscription, Φ.

London, no. 30, **Plate VII**; Paris, no. 808 (Pl. xvii, 12); Petrograd, no. 464.

193 HEMIDRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. No symbol or monograms.
Paris, no. 807; London, no. 28; Petrograd, no. 463.

194 DIOBOL.

Obv. Diademed head of Alexander to r. in circle of dots. *Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (to r.) ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ (to l.). Tripod.
Paris, no. 809 (Pl. xvii, 13).

The two magistrates 🏛 and ⫙ were carried over from Demetrius' issues of the year ΒΞΡ, to Alexander's of the year ΓΞΡ. Although Alexander substituted the figure of Zeus Olympios (the old type of his alleged father Antiochus IV, and his brother Antiochus V) for the seated Tyche of Demetrius, and the fillet border for the laurel wreath border, the style and general appearance of the two coinages at Antioch remain the same. For the year ΓΞΡ the superintendent of the mint signs himself CORNUCOPIAE. In the following year this superintendent drops out (or perhaps he simply changes his signature), and the monogram ⫛ takes the place of the CORNUCOPIAE symbol, while the subordinates remain the same, with one or two added. There is also a special issue of tetradrachms for this year with the reverse type of a standing Athene. The reason for this sudden innovation is obscure; though, as we know from his other coin types (e. g. Brit. Mus. Cat., Pl. xvi, nos. 10 and 11) Alexander Balas was very partial to his namesake the great Alexander, and so perhaps desired to honor upon his coins the third of the divinities so particularly favored by the Macedonian. As on the coins of Alexander the Great, Athene, Zeus, and Herakles form the choice of types, so this Alexander placed these same three divinities upon his issues. The coinage of tetradrachms continues plentifully for the years ΕΞΡ and ϚΞΡ, while that of the dated drachms is superceded by an undated series. Many of the subordinate officials remain the same for these issues, but the two new superintendents 🜂 and ⫝ replace the previous ones. In the year ΖΞΡ the coinage of Alexander Balas is interrupted by his flight from the capital, and the accession of Demetrius II. Only one or two specimens are in existence of his Antiochene issues for this year, which leads one to infer that Alexander fled not many months after October 146 B. C.

Alongside of the dated series of tetradrachms there occurs also an undated series, our nos. 164 to 171. That they belong to our mint is made certain by similarity of style and especially by the fact that sev-

eral magistrates of the dated series also signed many of these pieces. It would seem that the entire coinage of these undated pieces occurred at one time, as the style of all is identical and several specimens of nos. 164, 165, 166, and 170 have their obverses from a single die.

As noted above, the coinage of *dated* drachms ceases in the year ΔΞΡ, but their place is taken for this and the succeeding years by the undated drachms collected under nos. 172 to 188. On these the same letters and monograms are displayed as on the accompanying tetradrachms, while their style agrees with the issues actually dated ΔΞΡ to ΖΞΡ.

Aside from the purely municipal bronze issues of Antioch (London, no. 63, Glasgow, nos. 65, 66, Paris, nos. 909-911) there were royal issues as well at this mint. Among these are some[25] of those with type Alexander (or Herakles) in lion's skin, reverse standing Apollo and symbols: CORNUCOPIAE, TRIDENT, STAR and with monograms met with on the silver coins. There certainly is a large series of serrated bronze coins, consisting of two denominations, which belong to Antioch. These are to be found brought together by Dr. Macdonald in his catalogue of the Hunterian Collection, pp. 64, 65, nos. 48-59. These pieces have monograms met with on the silver, and are a direct continuation of the serrated bronzes already noticed as having been struck at Antioch under Demetrius I.

DEMETRIUS II NICATOR.

First reign in Antioch[26] 146-144 B. C.

As early as the year 147 B. C., Ptolemy VII Philometor of Egypt, who had materially assisted in placing Alexander Balas upon the Syrian throne, became dissatisfied with the course of events then taking place in the neighboring kingdom. Rebellions and local disturbances at home due to the negligence and incapacity of Alexander, threatened invasions from abroad by rival claimants to the throne, all made Ptolemy's influence in Syria uncertain. With a strong army he advanced to Ptolemais whence Alexander, but a short time previously, had departed for Antioch to quell an incipient revolt and to meet an invasion from the North of the young Demetrius, the eldest of Demetrius Soter's

[25] Those with symbol PALM BRANCH would seem to belong to another mint, probably Apamea.

[26] Demetrius ruled till 138 B. C. in Phoenicia.

sons. Ptolemy evidently felt that Alexander had now reigned long enough for Egyptian interests and, having advanced as far as Seleucia on the Orontes, found occasion to break openly with him. He proclaimed the little Demetrius (a child of some fourteen years of age) king in the place of Alexander. Antioch revolted and Alexander fled to the hills (shortly after Oct. 146 B. C. as shown by his Antiochene coins). Ptolemy thereupon entered Antioch and placed his young protégé upon the Seleucid throne as Demetrius II Theus Philadelphus Nicator. The following year (B. C. 145) Alexander made one more bid for his kingdom and with a hastily assembled army crossed the Amanus mountains into the plain of Antioch. Here a pitched battle was fought, just outside the walls of the city, Alexander was overwhelmed, managed to escape to the hills, but was assassinated by an Arab chieftain and his head sent to Ptolemy. Ptolemy, however, had also fallen in battle with a mortal wound, of which he died shortly after, leaving the little Demetrius Seleucid king without either friend or rival. But not for long. The Cretan condottieri and soldiers of fortune who formed Demetrius' principal stand-by and the most dependable part of his army now took things into their own hands and commenced to plunder the country mercilessly. An attempt was made to disband the national army in order that the strangers might be the more secure. This led to a terrible revolt in Antioch which was only suppressed after thousands had been slaughtered, a large portion of the city burned, and the remainder given up to plunder and rapine. At this time a more successful revolt also broke out at Apamea, the military arsenal of the kingdom, under a certain Diodotus who later became known as Tryphon. He secured the allegiance of the native soldiery in the name of the little Antiochus whom his father Alexander had placed in safety with an Arabian chief before his defeat by Ptolemy Philometor. In the 168th year of the Seleucid Era (144 B. C.) Antioch opened its gates joyfully to Antiochus VI Theus Epiphanes Dionysus, while Demetrius retreated to the cities of the Phoenician coast where he continued to rule for another six years.

The mint of Antioch, taken over bodily by the young Demetrius from his predecessor, commenced operations at once — if we may judge by the style of the first issues and the reappearance on them of nearly all the monograms belonging to those subordinate officials who were active under Alexander.

The following, then, are the coins struck by Demetrius during the two years of his disastrous reign in Antioch.

Dated ΖΞΡ, end of 146 or early in 145–Oct. 145.

a. With monogram ⋔.

195 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Demetrius II to r. in fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ (to r.) ΘΕΟΥ | ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ | ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ (to l.). Apollo naked seated to l. on omphalos, holding arrow in outstretched r., rests l. on bow. On l., between figure and inscription, ⋔. In exergue, ΖΞΡ ⋔.

Paris, no. 950.

196 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., between figure and inscription, ⋔. In exergue, ΖΞΡ ⊢.

Paris, no. 951.

197 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., between figure and inscription ⋔. In exergue, ΖΞΡ Θ.

London, no. 10.

198 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., between figure and inscription, ⋔. In exergue, ΖΞΡ ⌓.

London, no. 9, Plate VIII; another, no. 8.

199 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., between figure and inscription, ⋔. In exergue, ΖΞΡ ⋐.

Jameson Coll., no. 1716 (Pl. lxxxvi).

200 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., between figure and inscription, ⋔. In exergue, ΖΞΡ ⋉.

Cast in author's possession, present whereabouts of original unknown.

b. With ⍓ and PALM BRANCH.

201 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, PALM BRANCH. On l., between figure and inscription, ⍓.
In exergue, ΖΞΡ ⍝.

Sotheby, Bunbury Coll., no. 524, Plate VIII.

202 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, PALM BRANCH. On l., between figure and inscription, 𐤀.
In exergue, ΖΞΡ 𐤑.

Newell, Plate VIII.

203 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, PALM BRANCH. On l., between figure and inscription, 𐤀.
In exergue, ΖΞΡ 𐤀𐤑.

Newell.

204 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, PALM BRANCH. On l., between figure and inscription, 𐤀.
In exergue, ΖΞΡ 𐤍.

Paris, no. 952.

205 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, PALM BRANCH. On l., between figure and inscription, 𐤀.
In exergue, ΖΞΡ 𐤐.[27]

Petrograd, no. 500.

206 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar, but with laurel wreath border.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, PALM BRANCH. On l., between figure and inscription, 𐤀. Between feet of Apollo, 𐤎. In exergue, ΖΞΡ.

Paris, no. 954, Plate VIII.

Dated ΗΞΡ, Oct. 145–early in 144.

207 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar, with head in laurel wreath border.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, PALM BRANCH. On l., between figure and inscription, 𐤀. Between feet of Apollo, Κ. In exergue, ΗΞΡ.

Petrograd, no. 499.

[27] Not having seen this piece or Petrograd, no. 501, I would be inclined to question the exact form of the monograms there recorded.

208 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, PALM BRANCH. On l., between figure and inscription, 𐡀. Between feet of Apollo, 𐡀. In exergue, ΗΞΡ.

Newell,[28] Plate VIII; London, no. 11 (which, however, is said to possess a fillet border); Hirsch, Rhousopoulos Sale, no. 4458 (Pl. lvi); Sotheby, O'Hagan Sale, 1908, no. 672 (Pl. xi).

209 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, PALM BRANCH.[29] On l., between figure and inscription, 𐡀. Between feet of Apollo, Η. In exergue, ΗΞΡ.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 3 (Pl. lxvii, 18).

209a TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, PALM BRANCH. On l., between figure and inscription, 𐡀. Between feet of Apollo, 𐡀. In exergue, ΗΞΡ.

Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaies Grecques*, 1883, p. 434, no. 103.

210 DRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Demetrius II to r. in dotted circle.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ (to r.) ΘΕΟΥ | ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ | ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ (to l.). Apollo as above. On l., between figure and inscription, 𐡀. Between feet of Apollo, ⊢⊀. In exergue, ΗΞΡ (?).[30]

Paris, no. 953.

211 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., between figure and inscription, 𐡀. Between feet of Apollo, 𐡌. In exergue, ΗΞΡ.

London, no. 12; Egger Sale xli, 1912, no. 708, Plate VIII.

212 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., between figure and inscription, 𐡀. Between feet of Apollo, K. In exergue, ΗΞΡ.

Jameson Coll., no. 1723 (Pl. lxxxvii), Plate VIII.

[28] The reverse design having been struck a little to one side it is impossible to determine if the PALM BRANCH was originally on this die or not. Its presence, though, is probable.

[29] The stem of the PALM BRANCH is just visible.

[30] The date is obscure. Babelon suggests ΖΞΡ, but as all the other known drachms are ΗΞΡ it has been placed here until another specimen turns up.

213 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, STAR. On l., between figure and inscription, 𐤀. Between feet, 𐤀.

Newell ; London, no. 13 ; perhaps also Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 5.

214 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar, but with fillet border.

Rev. Similar. On l., between figure and inscription, 𐤁. Between feet of Apollo, 𐤌. In exergue, ΗΞΡ.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 4.

215 HEMIDRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Demetrius II to r. in dotted circle.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (to r.) ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ (to l.). Apollo, naked, standing to l., holding arrow in outstretched r., rests l. on bow. In front of figure, 𐤀 | 𐤗.

Egger Sale xli, 1912, no. 709, Plate VIII.

The first issue of Demetrius upon his arrival in Antioch consists of the tetradrachms nos. 195 to 200. The supreme magistrate is now 𐤌, but the subordinate ones we have all met with on the previous issues of Alexander Balas, showing conclusively that we here have to do with the issues of one and the same mint. The last date borne by the coins of Alexander was ΖΞΡ which began in October 146 B. C. As we possess only one certain specimen of this coinage it must have been very small. Demetrius' issues for Antioch begin with the same date, that is ΖΞΡ, but are very numerous. It is probable, therefore, that Alexander's flight before the threatening advance of Ptolemy Philometor and the insubordination of his own subjects in Antioch occurred towards the end of 146 B. C. It was not long, however, before Alexander was able to raise an army, whereupon, probably during the summer campaigning months, he approached Antioch only to meet defeat in pitched battle before the walls of the city. I would therefore assign the "a" series with the monogram 𐤌 to the interval between the flight of Alexander and his return in the early summer of 145 B. C. Series "b" was issued after the great victory of Ptolemy and Demetrius his protégé and bears in the field of the reverse a large palm branch (significant of this success) *in addition to* the monograms of the officiating magistrates. The chief official is now 𐤀, his subordinates consisting of some of our old friends together with a few new ones. To emphasize the victory, Demetrius, just before the close of the year ΖΞΡ, sub-

stitutes a laurel wreath for the more usual fillet border which he had placed on the obverse of his tetradrachms at the beginning of his reign (see Plate VIII, no. 206 and following).

The issues of year ΗΞΡ continue as in the previous year with ΔΙ as chief magistrate. This year is signalized by a plenteous issue of drachms and also a hemidrachm (no. 215). The majority of the subordinate officials have been met with before.



fig. 5

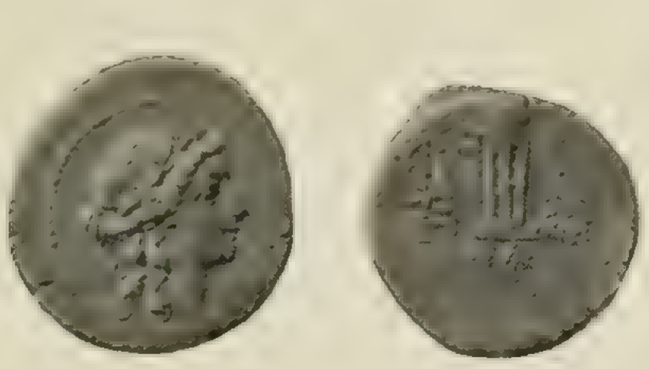


fig. 6



fig. 7

The bronze issues of Demetrius for Antioch are somewhat obscure, among them however is certainly a series of three denominations as illustrated in the accompanying cuts. All the varieties of this issue that I have been able to study show in the exergue the monogram ΜΗ which is likewise found on series "a" of the tetradrachms. The bronze coins are therefore contemporary with these tetradrachms.

ANTIOCHUS VI DIONYSUS, In Antioch, 144-142 B. C.

It has already been related above how the native soldiery, at the instigation of a certain Diodotus whom we know better under the name Tryphon, revolted against the little Demetrius and declared for Antiochus, the infant child of Alexander Balas. The revolt originated at Apamea[31] but soon spread to Antioch, Demetrius fled to Seleucia, and in the course of the 168th year of the Seleucid Era, Antiochus with his protector Tryphon entered the capital in triumph. He, however, was unable to secure the cities of the Phoenician coast which remained loyal to Demetrius throughout the remainder of that monarch's first reign.

These events must have occurred early in the summer of 144 B. C. for the issues of Antiochus VI, following closely upon those of Demetrius for the same year, are far from rare.

[31] It was here that were struck the rare tetradrachms, Paris, pl. xx, 6, and Egger Sale xli, 1912, no. 712.

Dated ΗΞΡ, Summer of 144–October 144.

216 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed and radiate head of Antiochus VI to r. in fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ (above) ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ | ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΥ (below). The Dioscuri, with couched spears, flying mantles, and star-adorned caps, galloping to l., the whole in wreath composed of lotus, ivy, and wheat ears. Behind riders, ΤΡΥ. Beneath horses, ΗΞΡ.

London, no. 1, **Plate VIII.**

217 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar, but ends of diadem are flying.

Rev. Similar. Behind riders, ΤΡΥ | ΚΡ. Beneath horses, ΗΞΡ.

Egger Sale xlv, no. 762, **Plate VIII.**

218 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. Behind riders, ΤΡΥ | ΠΡ. Beneath horses, ΗΞΡ.

London (see Num. Chron., Ser. III, Vol. xx, 1900, Pl. xiv, 11).

219 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. Behind riders, ΤΡΥ | Ϙ. Beneath horses, ΗΞΡ.

Sotheby, Carfrae Sale, 1894, no. 314 (Pl. x, 9).

220 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar, but with thyrsos in front of Dioscuri. Behind riders, ΤΡΥ | Κ. Beneath horses, ΗΞΡ.

Paris, no. 988 (Pl. xx, 7); Hirsch xxx, Barron Sale, 1911, no. 596 (Pl. xviii).

221 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar, star behind head.

Rev. Similar, with thyrsos. Behind riders, ΤΡΥ | ϗ. Beneath horses, ΗΞΡ.

Hirsch, Hoskier Sale, 1907, no. 441 (Pl. xv); Sotheby, Guzman Sale, 1914, no. 114 (Pl. vi).

222 DRACHM.

Obv. Diademed and radiate head of Antiochus VI to r. in circle of dots.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ (to r.) ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ | ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΥ (to l.). Apollo, naked but for chlamis draped over r. thigh, seated to l. on omphalos holds arrow in outstretched r., l. rests on bow. On l., outside inscription, BUNCH OF GRAPES. Between feet of Apollo, Κ. In exergue, ΗΞΡ.

J. Ward Coll., no. 793, **Plate IX**; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 3; E. Rogers, Num. Chron., Ser. IV, vol. xii, p. 253, no 21 (Pl. x, 9).

223 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, BUNCH OF GRAPES. Between feet of Apollo, A. In exergue, HΞP.

Newell.

224 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, BUNCH OF GRAPES. Between feet of Apollo, ϒ. In exergue, HΞP.

Newell.

225 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, BUNCH OF GRAPES. Between feet of Apollo, ⋔. In exergue, HΞP.

Egger Sale xlv, 1913, no. 695 (Pl. xix).

226 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, BUNCH OF GRAPES. Between feet of Apollo, ⋔. In exergue, HΞP.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 4.

227 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, BUNCH OF GRAPES. Between feet of Apollo, ⋔. In exergue, HΞP.

London, no. 7 ; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 5.

Dated ΘΞP, Oct. 144–Oct. 143.

228 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar to no. 221, with star behind head.

Rev. Similar to no. 220, with thyrsos. Behind riders, TPY | IΠ | ⋔. Beneath horses, ΘΞP.

Newell, Plate VIII (same obverse die as no. 221).

229 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar, but no star.

Rev. Similar, but no thyrsos. Behind riders, TPY | ϒ | ΣTA. Beneath horses, ΘΞP.

London, no. 4 ; Paris, nos. 989, 990, and 991.

230 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar to preceding.

Rev. Similar to preceding. Behind riders, ΤΡΥ | 𐤎 or 𐤏 | ΣΤΑ. Beneath horses, ΘΞΡ.

Hirsch, Rhousopoulos Sale, no. 4459 (Pl. lv); Sotheby, Bunbury Sale (II), no. 531 (Pl. v); Ratto Sale, 1909, no. 4878 (Pl. xix); Hirsch xvi, 1906, no. 678 (Pl. xix).

231 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. Behind riders, ΤΡΥ | 𐤀 | ΣΤΑ. Beneath horses, ΘΞΡ.

Egger Sale xlv, no. 694 (Pl. xix); Hoffmann Sale, 1898, no. 717 (Pl. iv).

232 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. Behind riders, ΤΡΥ | 𐤐 | ΣΤΑ. Beneath horses, ΘΞΡ.

London, nos. 2 and 3, **Plate VIII**; Hirsch Sale xxxii, 1912, no. 582 (Pl. xxii) from same obverse die as no. 231.

233 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. Behind riders, ΤΡΥ | 𐤓 | ΣΤΑ. Beneath horses, ΘΞΡ.

Egger Sale xlvi, 1914, no. 2458 (Pl. xxxix) formerly Ratto Sale, 1912, no. 1087; Hirsch Sale xxxi, 1912, no. 486 (Pl. xiii); Sotheby, Butler Sale, no. 262 (Pl. vi).

234 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. Behind riders, ΤΡΥ | 𐤓𐤀 | ΣΤΑ. Beneath horses, ΘΞΡ.

Petrograd, no. 509.

235 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar to no. 222.

Rev. Similar to no. 222. On l., outside inscription, BUNCH OF GRAPES. In exergue, ΘΞΡ ΣΤΑ.

London, no. 8.

236 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. Between feet of Apollo, 𐤏. In exergue, ΘΞΡ ΣΤΑ.

Newell; Paris, nos. 992 and 993; Hirsch, Hoskier Sale, no. 442 (Pl. xv).

237 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. Between feet of Apollo, 𐤎. In exergue, ΘΞΡ ΣΤΑ.

London, no. 9; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 6.

238 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. Between feet of Apollo, 𐤀. In exergue, ΘΞΡ ΣΤΑ.

Petrograd, no. 512; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 7.

239 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. Between feet of Apollo, 𐤁. In exergue, ΘΞΡ ΣΤΑ.

London, no. 10.

Dated ΟΡ, Oct. 143–Oct. 142.

240 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar to no. 229. *Rev.* Similar to no. 229. Behind riders, ΤΡΥ | 𐤌 | ΣΤΑ. Beneath horses, ΟΡ.

London, no. 5; J. Ward Coll., no. 749 (Pl. xx); Paris, no. 996; Sotheby, Cumberland-Clark Sale, 1914, no. 276 (Pl. viii).

241 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. Behind riders, ΤΡΥ | 𐤐 | ΣΤΑ. Beneath horses, ΟΡ.

Paris, no. 995; Hirsch Sale xxix, no. 824 (Pl. xii); Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 1 (Pl. lxviii, 2).

242 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. Behind riders, ΤΡΥ | 𐤒 | ΣΤΑ. Beneath horses, ΟΡ.

Paris, no. 994; Petrograd, no. 513; Egger Sale, Nov., 1909, no. 423 (Pl. xv).

243 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. Behind riders, ΤΡΥ | 𐤒 (ΣΤΑ omitted). Beneath horses, ΟΡ.

Egger Sale xlv, 1913, no. 763, **Plate IX**; Hirsch xi, 1904, no. 447 (Pl. ix).

244 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. Behind riders, ΤΡΥ | Φ | ΣΤΑ. Beneath horses, ΟΡ.

London, no. 6, **Plate IX**; Newell (formerly Egger Sale, Jan., 1908, no. 611, Pl. xix); Schulman, White-King Sale, no. 587 (Pl. vi); Egger Sale, Jan., 1908, no. 610 (Pl. xix).

245 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. Behind riders, ΤΡΥ | 𐤀 | ΣΤΑ. Beneath horses, ΟΡ.

Jameson Coll., no. 1725 (Pl. lxxxvii); Sotheby, Whitehead Coll., 1898, no. 14 (Pl. i); Egger Sale, 1914, no. 2459 (Pl. xxxix); Berlin Duplicates, Hess, 1907, no. 1187 (Pl. iv).

246 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar to no. 222.

Rev. Similar to no. 222. Between feet of Apollo, ⋔. In exergue, OP ΣTA.

London, no. 13; Petrograd, no. 516.

247 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. Between feet of Apollo, ⋈ or ⋈. In exergue, OP ΣTA.

Coll. L. Walcher de Molthein, no. 3003 (Pl. xxvii); Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), nos. 9, 10, and 11; Santa Maria, Hartwig Sale, 1910, no. 820 (Pl. xv).

248 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. Between feet of Apollo, ⋇ or ⋇. In exergue, OP ΣTA.

London, no. 11, Plate IX; Newell; Paris, no. 997 (Pl. xx, 8); Petrograd, no. 514; Hirsch Sale xiv, 1905, no. 571 (Pl. xiv); Sotheby, Headlam Sale, May, 1916, no. 447 (Pl. x).

249 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. Between feet of Apollo, Φ. In exergue, OP ΣTA.

London, no. 12; Hirsch, Rhousopoulos Sale, no. 4460 (Pl. lv).

250 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. Between feet of Apollo, ⍋. In exergue, OP ΣTA.

Newell; Paris, nos. 998, 999, and 1000; Jameson Coll., no. 1726 (Pl. lxxxvii).

Undated Issues.

251 HEMIDRACHM. (Type A, during HΞP).

Obv. Diademed and radiate head of Antiochus VI to r. in circle of dots.

Rev. BAΣIΛEΩΣ (to r.) ANTIOXOY (to l.). Apollo, naked standing to l., holds arrow in outstretched r., rests l. on bow.

London, no. 15, Plate IX; Paris, no. 1042 (Pl. xx, 19); Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), nos. 16 and 17.

252 HEMIDRACHM. (Type B, during HΞP to ΘΞP).

Obv. Head as above.

Rev. BAΣIΛEΩΣ | ANTIOXOY (to r.) EΠIΦANOYΣ | ΔIONYΣOY (to l.). Panther to l., r. forepaw raised. In exergue, K.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), nos. 18 and 19 (Pl. lxviii, 5); Coll. L. Walcher de Molthein, no. 3005 (Pl. xxvii).

253 HEMIDRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. In exergue, ☙.

Newell, Plate IX (formerly, Schulman, Kreling Sale, Dec., 1913, no. 541).

254 HEMIDRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. In exergue, ⛪.

Newell.

255 HEMIDRACHM. (Type C, during ΘΞP to OP.)

Obv. Similar to no. 244. *Rev.* Inscription as above. Panther to l. holding palm in mouth and r. forepaw. Above ΣTA.

London, nos. 16, Plate IX, 17, and 18; Jameson Coll., no. 1728 (Pl. lxxxvii).

256 DIOBOL.

Obv. Similar head to r. *Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ (to r.) ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ | ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΥ (to l.). Thyrsos bound with fillet. ΣTA.

London, no. 19 (Pl. xix, 6); Petrograd, no. 520; Imhoof-Blumer, Monnaies Grecques, p. 435, no. 111.

Undated drachms struck 142 B. C.

257 DRACHM.

Obv. Diademed and radiate head of Antiochus VI to r. in circle of dots. *Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ (to r.) ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ | ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΥ (to l.). Macedonian helmet to r. adorned with spike, Ibex-horn and cheek pieces. On r., between horn and spike, TPY. On r., beneath helmet, ⚓P.

Paris, nos. 1002 and 1003.

258 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. On r., between horn and and spike, TPY. On r. beneath helmet, ⚔ or ⚔.

London, no. 22, Plate IX; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 14 (Pl. lxviii, 4); Petrograd, no. 517; Paris, no. 1004.

259 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. On r., between horn and spike, TPY. On r., beneath helmet, ☙.

London, nos. 20 and 21; Petrograd, no. 518; Paris, no. 1005; Rome, Strozzi Sale, 1907, no. 1678 (Pl. xi).

260 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On r., between horn and spike, ΤΡΥ. On r., beneath helmet, ℞.

Newell.

We have already noticed that during the first portion of the year ΗΞΡ, issues in the name of Demetrius II appeared at Antioch; the remainder of the same year was given up to the striking of coins for Antiochus VI. The little boy's head is engraved on the obverses of the new coins surrounded with the fillet border and adorned with the divine rays which had been introduced on the Seleucid coinage by his supposed grandfather, Antiochus IV Theus Epiphanes. It was no doubt to emphasize this alleged descent, that the new king took upon himself (or rather the regent Tryphon probably instigated the move as his protégé was only a child of some two or three summers) the surname of Epiphanes and the divine rays. The reverses of the new tetradrachms give us a spirited representation of the Twin Gods charging to left on horseback. The reason for this particular choice of type is obscure. M. Babelon, following Ott. Müller and Wieseler, suggests some incident at the battle which saw the defeat of Demetrius II and the triumph of Antiochus. It must be remembered, however, that the Dioscuri seem to have been particularly favored in Syria under their other name of *Κάβειροι Συρίων*. They had a temple near Seleucia on the Orontes, and they frequently appear on the coins of Seleucus I; their type is therefore not a sudden innovation in the Seleucid series. It is certain, however, that in this case the choice had nothing to do with the worship of these gods at Tripolis in Phoenicia as has been suggested — our coins being all struck at Antioch and it being very doubtful if Antiochus VI ever held Tripolis.[32]

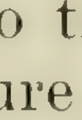
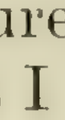
If the reason for the choice of the surname Dionysus is also uncertain, the epithet certainly influenced the adoption of the wreath on the reverse of the tetradrachms and the types of the hemidrachms and diobols.

All of the tetradrachms and drachms issued for the year ΗΞΡ at Antioch show the three letters ΤΡΥ of Tryphon's name and so bear witness to the preponderant position this man held in the government. The monograms and letters of subordinate mint officials are, as usual, placed in the field of the coin, and it is furthermore to be noted, that one and all of these were officiating under Demetrius II, many of them

[32] For a discussion of the significance of this type see Babelon, *loc. cit.*, cxxxv, ff.

under Alexander Balas and even Demetrius I showing, as we have already had ample opportunity to observe, how long a period of activity these lesser mint officials at Antioch enjoyed.

Under Demetrius II, during the last year of his rule in Antioch, we noticed a large issue of drachms. This issue continued under Antiochus VI with exactly similar types except for the change in portrait and name. Note that the symbol of the chief magistrate on these pieces is a BUNCH OF GRAPES. Before the close of the year another symbol, the Thyrsos, appears on the tetradrachms.

For the year ΘΞP the coinage of tetradrachms and drachms continues actively. At first the Thyrsos symbol again occurs on the tetradrachms but is almost immediately replaced by the letters ΣTA which have caused considerable discussion among numismatists. The majority concur in seeing in them the initials of the name ΣTAφυλος and have explained this as either some honorary name of Tryphon, or as the personal name of some official holding an office only secondary to that of Tryphon. The Rev. E. Rogers (Num. Chron. Ser. IV, vol. xii, p. 254) thinks that it is but another name or title of Antiochus VI Dionysus because of the close mythological connection between the two names. From ancient authors we gather that the God Dionysus either had a son by this name, or that Staphylus was a son of Oenomaus, king of Assyria who protected the young Dionysus. It must be noted, however, that on all the Antiochene coin issues, from the first introduction of dating the coins in the year HNP of Demetrius I, there appears, in addition to the many subordinate officials, a superior one who places his signature on *all* their issues so long as he remains in office. Under Demetrius I this was  ; under Alexander I it was , , and ; under Demetrius II it was  ; while under Antiochus VI all the drachms of the first issue, in addition to the customary subordinates, are signed Bunch of Grapes, the tetradrachms either the Thyrsos or nothing. The coins for the next year commence with the Thyrsos and the Bunch of Grapes[33] but these are soon dropped in favor of ΣTA. The suggestion is obvious that ΣTA is nothing more than the chief official at the Antiochene mint under Antiochus VI Dionysus, as had been under Demetrius I; , , and under Alexander; and under Demetrius II. If ΣTA is correctly rendered Στάφυλος what more appropriate personal symbols could he choose than Thyrsos and Bunch of Grapes? It is of course, an unusual coincidence that Antiochus VI should take (or

[33] The drachm no. 235 has ΣTA as well as the symbol.

be given) the name Dionysus and that at the same time a man of, one might say, Dionysiac name should be his mint master. There was, however, thus a double reason for the markedly Dionysiac character of the types chosen for the new coinage.

Year ΟΡ continues with a very heavy coinage of tetradrachms and drachms. There seems also to have been continued the striking of the more unusual denominations of the hemidrachm and diobol. The former had first appeared, probably in year ΗΞΡ, with the types used by Antiochus' father Alexander (see nos. 189-193) but these change almost immediately to ones of a definitely Dionysiac character.

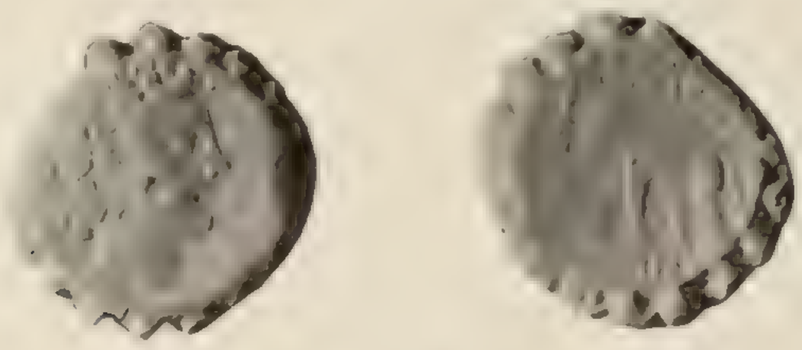


fig. 8

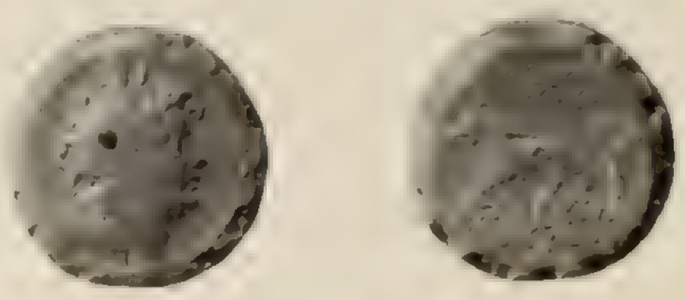


fig. 9

Among the bronze issues of Antioch for this reign are to be placed two denominations of serrated coins, both with obverse type of the little king's head radiate, and with reverse type (for the larger) elephant holding torch; (for the smaller) panther holding palm branch with mouth and right paw. Both these types bear the letters ΣΤΑ and, in addition the magistrate symbols Cornucopiae, Star, Palm Branch.

It was also in the year ΟΡ, the last of the reign, and perhaps at the very time the regent Tryphon was meditating his treacherous seizure of the throne, or even immediately after he had taken the final step, that there appeared a new issue of drachms with an innovation in the reverse type. The radiate head of the young Antiochus still holds the obverse, but on the reverse we see a Macedonian helmet of peculiar form, adorned in front with a large and conspicuous Ibex horn, henceforth to be the constant symbol of Tryphon. The letters ΤΡΥ (for the first time on the drachm) are conspicuously placed, but we no longer find a date. It is certain that Tryphon, so soon as he had seized the supreme power, discarded the use of the Seleucid Era for dating, and substituted one of his own. His Phoenician issues bear the dates Α to Δ, — in other words, his own regnal years. On the Antiochene issues, commencing with the above drachms, the very useful and, to us, most desirable custom of dating is now finally dropped from the silver coinage. The monograms of subordinate mint officials are, however, still continued from the preceding coinages.

TRYPHON, 142-138 B. C.

In and around the end of the year OP Tryphon felt his position in the kingdom strong enough to bring about the sudden death of the boy Antiochus, whose regent and guardian he had till then been, and to assume in name as well as in actuality the supreme power. He caused the troops under his command to declare him Βασιλεύς, he himself assumed the title Αὐτοκράτωρ "ruler by his own power"; in other words, the Seleucid line is supposed to have come to an end and a new one to have risen in its place. It must be remembered, however, that Demetrius II was still maintaining himself in the cities of the coast, from Selucia to near the Egyptian border, though Tryphon soon after his usurpation, came into possession of Ascalon and Ptolemais. For four years Tryphon ruled and was then suddenly overthrown by another scion of the House of Seleucus. Tryphon's Antiochene issues are the following:

261 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Tryphon to r. in fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ΤΡΥΦΩΝΟΣ (to r.) ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ (to l.). Chased Macedonian helmet to l. with spike, large Ibex horn in front, cheek guards and taenia. Beneath helmet, 𐤑.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 1, **Plate IX**.

262 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar, but the entire design surrounded by an oak wreath. Beneath helmet, 𐤑.

Paris, no. 1043 (Pl. xxi, 1); Egger Sale xli, 1912, no. 716, **Plate IX**.

262a TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. Beneath helmet, 𐤍.

Electrotype in author's collection, present whereabouts of original unknown.

263 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. No monogram.

London, no. 2 (Pl. xx, 1).

264 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. Beneath helmet, 𐤀.

Paris, no. 1044.

265 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar to tetradrachm except that in place of fillet border there is dotted circle.

Rev. Similar to tetradrachm no. 261. On l., beneath helmet, ☧.

London, no. 4 (Pl. xx, 2); Hirsch, Rhousopoulos Sale, 1905, no. 4461 (Pl. lv).

265a DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., beneath helmet, ☧.

Newell.

266 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., beneath helmet, ΧΡ.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 3.

267 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., beneath helmet, ꟿ.

Newell (formerly Egger Sale xlv, 1913, no. 699), Plate IX; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 2; Roll. & Feuard., Duruflé Sale, 1910, no. 626 (Pl. xiv).

268 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., beneath helmet, ΠΡ.

Egger Sale xli, 1912, no. 717 (Pl. xix).

269 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., beneath helmet, Α.

London, no. 3; Jameson Coll., no. 1729 (Pl. lxxxvii) formerly Sotheby, Benson Sale, 1909, no. 764 (Pl. xxv); Paris, no. 1045 (Pl. xxi, 2); Petrograd, no. 540.

270 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., beneath helmet, Α.

Paris, no. 1046; Petrograd, no. 541.

271 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., beneath helmet, ΔΙ.

Egger Sale, Jan., 1908, no. 615 (Pl. xvii).

272 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., beneath helmet, Π.

Hirsch (xxx), Percy Barron Coll., no. 597 (Pl. xviii).

We have seen that the useful system of dating the silver coins was discarded in the last issue of drachms bearing the portrait and names of Antiochus VI Dionysus. The coins, both silver and bronze, now struck with the portrait and titles of Tryphon the usurper, also bear no

dates; but the silver are still marked with the monograms of the same magistrates who had held office both in the preceding and in earlier reigns. Thus we meet once more and for the last time our old friends ⅄, and ⅁.[34] The Antiochene bronzes, as under Antiochus VI, bear symbols (Star, Akrostolion, Ear of Wheat, Caps of the Dioscuri) but are no longer serrated.

The Macedonian helmet chosen for the reverse type of all these issues has direct reference to the claim of Tryphon that,— according to the time honored Macedonian custom,— he was supposed to have been unanimously elected by free Macedonian soldiers in open assembly. There may also be intended a punning reference to his name, for in both Homer and Hesiod a helmet is sometimes called *τρυφάλεια*.

ANTIOCHUS VII EUERGETES, 138-129 B. C.

During the period covered by the reigns of Alexander Balas, Antiochus VI, and Tryphon, and the contemporaneous rule in Phoenicia of Demetrius II, the brother of the latter, Antiochus by name, was growing into manhood at the busy seaport and powerful city of Side in Pamphylia. When this young man, who had inherited much of his father's ability and strength of character, was somewhere between the ages of twenty and twenty-three, news suddenly reached him that his elder brother, Demetrius II, had been taken prisoner in distant Media whither he had gone to deliver the eastern provinces from Parthian domination and add them once more to the Seleucid dominions. There was now no legitimate Seleucid king in power, for Tryphon was everywhere considered a mere usurper.

Antiochus immediately left Side and landing in Syria, was received with acclaim by all, delighted once more to own allegiance to a rightful and legitimate sovereign of the House of Seleucus. Tryphon was deserted by both people and army. He sought safety in flight but was pursued from place to place until finally, cornered and in despair, he perished by his own hand. Antiochus VII Euergetes, popularly known as Sidetes on account of the place of his bringing up, now ruled alone in the lands of his ancestors.

[34] ⍋ occurs once more here, as well as under the following reign.

a. With ⏃ and one letter or monogram.

273 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Antiochus VII to r. in fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ (to r.) ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ (to l.). Athene standing to l., helmeted, holds wreath-bearing Nike in outstretched r., rests l. on shield adorned with Medusa head, and holds spear. The whole surrounded by laurel wreath. On l., beneath Nike, ⏃ | ⏃ or ⏃.

J. Ward Coll., no. 795, **Plate IX**; London, no. 30; Amer. Num. Soc.

274 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., beneath Nike, ⏃ | ⊢P.

Newell.

275 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., beneath Nike, ⏃ | AI.

Newell; Paris, no. 1151; London, no. 29.

276 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., beneath Nike, ⏃ | ⋈.

Egger Sale xlv, 1913, no. 764, **Plate IX**.

277 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., beneath Nike, ⏃ | ⋀R.

Electrotype in author's collection. London, no. 28, and Petrograd, no. 575, may be this variety.

278 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., beneath Nike, ⏃ | ⊛.

Newell.

279 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., beneath Nike, ⏃ | H.

Paris, no. 1152; London, no. 31.

280 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., beneath Nike, ⏃ | Λ.

London, no. 32; Petrograd, no. 574.

281 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. On l., beneath Nike, ⏃ | Π.

London, nos. 33, 34, and 35; Paris, nos. 1149 and 1150.

282 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. On l., beneath Nike, ⏃ | A.

Paris, nos. 1147 and 1148; Petrograd, no. 572; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 10; Newell (several specimens); Schulman, White-King Sale, 1904, no. 595 (Pl. vi); Sotheby, Bunbury Sale, no. 535 (Pl. v); Sotheby, Cumberland-Clark Sale, 1914, no. 278 (Pl. viii)

b. ⏃ | A and one monogram or letter.

283 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar, but at times Nike faces to r. On l., beneath Nike, ⏃ | A. On r., behind Athene, ⏁.

Paris, nos. 1142 and 1143; London, no. 22; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 9; Egger Sale, Jan., 1908, no. 620. **Plate IX**; Egger Sale xlv, 1913, no. 708 (Pl. xix).

284 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar, with Nike at times facing to r. On l., beneath Nike, ⏃ | A. On r., behind Athene, ⏀.

Paris, nos. 1145 and 1158; London, no. 23a; Jameson Coll., no. 1730, Pl. lxxxvii; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 7.

285 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. On l., beneath Nike, ⏃ | A. On r., behind Athene, ⏃.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 5, (Pl. lxviii, 14).

286 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. On l., beneath Nike, ⏃ | A. On r., behind Athene, Φ|.

London, no. 27.

287 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. On l., beneath Nike, ⏃ | A. On r., behind Athene, A.

Egger Sale, Jan., 1908, no. 623, **Plate IX**.

288 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar, sometimes Nike facing to r. On l., beneath Nike, Φ | A. On r., behind Athene, Δ.

Paris, no. 1144; London, no. 21; Yale Univ. Coll.; Newell.

289 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., beneath Nike, Φ | A. On r., behind Athene, H.

London, no. 20; Newell.

290 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., beneath Nike, Φ | A. On r., behind Athene, O.

Paris, no. 1146; London, no. 23; Petrograd, no. 571; Amer. Numis. Soc.

291 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar, Nike facing to r. On l., beneath Nike, Φ | A. On r., behind Athene, Σ.

Paris, no. 1157 (Pl. xxi, 14).

292 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar, Nike sometimes facing to r. On l., beneath Nike, Φ | A. On r., behind Athene, Φ.

London, no. 26; Petrograd, no. 582; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 8; Egger Sale, Jan., 1908, no. 621 (Pl. xix); Newell; Santa Maria, Hartwig Sale, 1910, no. 821 (Pl. xv).

c. Φ | A and two letters.

293 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar, Nike facing to r. On l., beneath Nike, Φ | A. On l., between Athene and inscription, A. On r., behind Athene, B.

Paris, no. 1155.

294 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar, Nike facing to r. On l., beneath Nike, Φ | A. On l., between Athene and inscription, A. On r., behind Athene, E.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 11.

295 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar, Nike facing to r. On l., beneath Nike, Φ | A. On l., between Athene and inscription, A. On r., behind Athene, K.

Schulman Sale, Oct., 1912, no. 83 (Pl. ii).

296 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar, Nike sometimes facing to r. On l., beneath Nike, Φ | A. On l., between Athene and inscription, T. On r., behind Athene, A.

London, no. 25; Amer. Numis. Soc.

297 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar, Nike facing to r. On l., beneath Nike, Φ | A. On l., between Athene and inscription, T. On r., behind Athene, Λ.

Paris, nos. 1153 and 1154 (Φ | A = Δ | A); Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), nos. 13 and 14; Coll. L. Walcher de Molthein, no. 3020 (Pl. xxvii); Petrograd, nos. 577 and 580 (T = Γ?); Newell; H. R. Drowne Coll.

298 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., beneath Nike, Φ | A. On l., between Athene and inscription, O. On r., behind Athene, Λ.

Newell; London, no. 24; Paris, no. 1156..

299 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., beneath Nike, Φ | A. On l., between Athene and inscription, M. On r., behind Athene, K.

Petrograd, no. 576.

d. Drachms with Φ and one letter, contemporaneous with preceding three classes.

300 DRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Antiochus VII to r. in fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ (to r.) ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ (to l.). Nike advancing to l. holds wreath in outstretched r., and gathered drapery in l. On l., outside inscription, Φ | A.

Paris, no. 1162 (Pl. xxi, 15); London, no. 40; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 15; Newell.

301 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Φ. On r., beneath wing, A.

London, no. 39.

302 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Φ | AI.

Petrograd, no. 589.

303 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Φ. On r., beneath wing, Ꝛ.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 16.

304 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Φ | O.

Newell, Plate X.

305 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Φ. On r., beneath wing, O.

London, no. 41; Paris, no. 1160; Petrograd, no. 586; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 18 (Pl. lxviii, 15).

306 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Φ | Π.

.Paris, no. 1161; Petrograd, no. 587.

307 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Φ. On r., beneath wing, Π.

Jameson Coll., no. 1734 (Pl. lxxxvii); London, no. 42; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 17; Paris, no. 1159; Petrograd, no. 583.

308 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Φ | Φ.

Coll. L. Walcher de Molthein, no. 3032 (Pl. xxviii).

309 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Φ. On r., beneath wing, Φ.

Paris, no. 1163.

310 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, ⊠ | Δ.

Newell.

e. Issues without Δ.

311 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar to no. 273.

Rev. Similar to no. 273. On l., beneath Nike, ⊠ | A.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 3; Newell (monogram ⊠), Plate X.

312 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, ⊓ | Δ.

Paris, no. 1164; Petrograd, nos. 591 and 592; Yale Univ. Coll.

312a DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, ⊠ | A.

Yale Univ. Coll.

313 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., beneath Nike, B | A.

London, no. 36; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 4.

314 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar to no. 300.

Rev. Similar to no. 300. On l., outside inscription, A | B.

315 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar to no. 273.

Rev. Similar to no. 273. On l., beneath Nike, Ξ | A. In exergue, ⊠.

Petrograd, no. 573; Egger Sale xli, 1912, no. 728, Plate X.

316 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar to no. 300.

Rev. Similar to no. 300. On l., outside inscription, ≤.

Paris, no. 1165.

317 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, ≤. On r., beneath wing, O.

London, no. 38.

Antiochus VII seems to have struck silver coins in great quantity at his mint in Antioch. The person who, as in the preceding reigns, was placed in charge of this coinage signs himself Φ. This soon becomes Φ | A; but the letter A does not seem to belong to Φ as we find it in conjunction with other letters on the coins of class "e." Perhaps it is the initial of another official, or might even be taken as the initial letter of Antioch; in other words a real mintmark in the full sense of that term. On the death of Antiochus VII it disappears until the second issue (series "b") of the reign of Antiochus VIII. The monogram Φ we have already met with on the coinages of Seleucus IV, Antiochus IV, Antiochus V and Demetrius I, but it can hardly be that of the same person. As mint officials at Antioch seem to have enjoyed such long tenure of office, it would not do violence to our credulity to suppose that members of the same family and with similar names held the office at various times. Perhaps, therefore, this Φ is a son or even grandson of the first Φ. The very fact that persons were employed in the mint for such a long time presupposes that they reached a grade of sufficient authority to sign the coins with their monogram or initial at a comparatively early age. It must be remembered that at Rome, at this time, one of the first steps for a young man desirous of entering public life was to be made a triumvir of the mint.

Among the subordinates of Φ we find Ⱥ, Ⱥ, and Ⱥ all of whom were active under Antiochus VI and Tryphon, and so form the connecting link between the coinages of these rulers and those of Antiochus VII. At one period of Antiochus VII's reign the coinage of tetradrachms was so large that a more complicated system of supervision of the issues was temporarily introduced. In class "e" we have coins which are all supervised by both Φ and A (if this letter denotes a separate official) and, in addition, we have the sub-supervisors A, T (perhaps also Γ), O, and M with *their* subordinates A, B, E, K, Λ, and O. The style, too, of the majority of these particular coins shows hasty work, as if the mint were operating under unusual stress, and so, for this reason, new and poorer die-cutters had to be called in to assist in supplying the demand. It may even be possible to assign this group to the period (131-130 B. C.) when Antiochus was bending every energy to assemble an immense army for the approaching campaign against the Parthians.

There is little doubt but that the silver coin issues of Antiochus VII for Antioch can in time be worked out more surely and more

minutely than it has here been possible to do. The tetradrachms are so common that they are therefore not generally illustrated in the catalogues at my disposal. This means that only a comparatively small number could be studied from the standpoint of sequence of style and dies and so only a general outline of the issues has been given, which a study based on a larger number of actual examples or illustrations may later modify.

Although the Antiochene silver issues of this reign do not bear dates[35] we are most fortunately assisted by the contemporaneous bronze issues which do. These consist of four denominations as follows: I,



fig. 10



fig. 11



fig. 12



fig. 13

obv. Ship's prow, rev. Trident (fig. 10); II, obv. Winged bust of Eros, rev. Head-dress of Isis (fig. 11); III, obv. Lion's head, rev. Club (fig. 12); IV, obv. Prow of ship, rev. Caps of the Dioscuri (fig. 13). Taking together the facts that these are easily the commonest of all the bronze coins of Antiochus VII, that in style and fabric they are the immediate successors of the Antiochene bronze coins of Tryphon and bear many of the same symbols, and finally that the monogram ⊕ is found on practically every specimen, we see clearly proved that their mint must have been Antioch. They all bear dates from ΔΟΡ (Oct. 139-Oct. 138) to ΓΠΡ (Oct. 130-Oct. 129) inclusive, the former being the year in which Antiochus invaded Syria, the latter in which he met his death in the campaign against the Parthians. To be exact, during the summer and autumn of 130 B. C. occurred the successful battles in which Antiochus drove the Parthian out of Babylonia and Media, the winter of 130-129 was passed in Media, the spring of 129 saw the total defeat and death

[35] The series of tetradrachms (see Brit. Mus. Cat., pl. xx, 6) bearing dates from ΣΟΡ to ΒΠΡ and of Attic weight and royal type — in contradistinction to the dated issues of this king of Phoenician type and weight — did not emanate from our mint.

of the Seleucid king. The bronze issues bearing his name and the date ΓΠΡ must have come to an end with the receipt in Antioch of the news of the great disaster in the late spring of 129 B. C.

DEMETRIUS II, Second Reign in Antioch 129-128 B. C.

The last we heard of Demetrius II was as captive of the Parthian king. Phraates, early in 129 B. C., to ward off the threatening blow of Antiochus VII and not counting on his own sudden victory, sent Demetrius back to Syria with a small force to cause a diversion in Antiochus' absence. With the death of Antiochus everything was changed, and Phraates made a vain attempt to recapture Demetrius. But the latter succeeded in making good his escape and arrived in Antioch about the same time as the news of Antiochus' end. Once more Demetrius was king in Syria.

318 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed and bearded head of Demetrius II to r. in fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ (to r.) ΘΕΟΥ | ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ (to l.). Zeus enthroned to l., holds wreath-bearing Nike in r., rests l. on sceptre. On l., outside inscription, 𐤑.

Paris, no. 1218.

319 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, 𐤑 | Ε (?).

Jameson Coll., no. 1735 (Pl. lxxxviii).

320 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Ξ. Beneath throne, O.

Newell, **Plate X** ; Egger Sale, xli, 1912, no. 733 (Pl. xx); Egger Sale xlv, 1913, no. 715 (Pl. xx); Egger Sale, Jan., 1908, no. 628 (Pl. xix); London, no. 17 ; Paris, no. 1212 ; Petrograd, no. 607 ; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 2.

321 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Ξ. Beneath throne, Δ.

London, no. 18, **Plate X** ; Paris, nos. 1215 and 1216.

322 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. In exergue, ΞΟ.

Egger Sale xli, 1912, no. 734 (Pl. xx).

323 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. On l., outside inscription, Ξ. Beneath throne, Δ.

Newell, **Plate X**; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 4; Paris, no. 1217.

324 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. No letters.

London, nos. 19 (Pl. xxi, 4) and 20; Petrograd, no. 610.

325 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. Between feet, Δ. Beneath throne, Ω.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 5 (Pl. lxviii, 24).

In conjunction with the above may have been struck the bronze coins with reverse type Nike to left (Brit. Mus. Cat., Plate xxi, 12, and Hunterian Coll., Plate lxix, 3) and the letter Ξ in field and symbol Cornucopiae outside the inscription (fig. 14). The Ξ is found on the

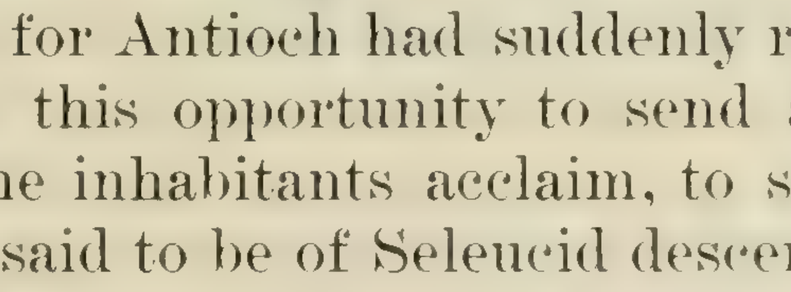


fig. 14

silver issues of this mint, and the symbol is a common one on the bronzes of Antiochus VII also struck here.

Demetrius did not long enjoy his newly regained kingdom in its entirety. He had hardly returned to Antioch when his mother-in-law,[36] Queen Cleopatra of Egypt, begged his support to restore her to her kingdom from which she had just been driven by her brother, Ptolemy Euergetes. Demetrius spent the winter of 129-128 collecting an army for the invasion of Egypt. In the spring he set out but was checked at Pelusium, for Antioch had suddenly risen in revolt behind him. Ptolemy seized this opportunity to send an Egyptian army to that city, and, with the inhabitants acclaim, to set upon the throne a creature of his own, said to be of Seleucid descent and an adopted son of Antiochus VII. The name of this new usurper was Alexander, pop-

[36] Bevan, *loc. cit.*, page 248.

ularly called Zabinas or the "Bought-one."[37] Demetrius was thus relegated, once more, to Seleucia and the Phoenician cities. His coinage in Antioch was therefore of but short duration, — from the late spring of 129 to the spring of 128. His issues here are the continuation of the last ones under Antiochus VII on which the monogram ⋈ and the letters Ξ and O[38] are found. It is probably only due to the preparations against Egypt that his Antiochene issues are fairly prolific, when we consider the short period of their striking.

ALEXANDER II, 128-123 B. C.

We have just seen the circumstances surrounding the accession to the Seleucid throne of Alexander II. His dominions at first did not extend much further than over Antioch and the valley of the middle Orontes.

a. ⊏Σ⊐ in field.

326 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Alexander II to r. in fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (to r.) ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ (to l.). Zeus enthroned to l. holds wreath-bearing Nike in outstretched r., rests l. on sceptre. On l., outside inscription, ⊏Σ⊐. Beneath throne, Δ.

Paris, nos. 1278 (Pl. xxiii, 4) and 1279.

327 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, ⊏Σ⊐. Beneath throne STAR over Δ.

Num. Chron., 1883, Pl. vi, 5; Paris, no. 1280; Petrograd, nos. 632, 633, and 634.

328 TETRADRACHM.,

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, ⊏Σ⊐. Beneath throne, Σ.

Hirsch, Weber Sale, 1908, no. 4112 (Pl. liii).

329 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, ⊏Σ⊐. Beneath throne, STAR over Σ.

J. Ward Coll., no. 797, **Plate X**; London, no. 2; Paris, no. 1281.

[37] Bevan, *loc. cit.*, page 249.

[38] See nos. 311, 315, 317.

330 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, ΙΣΙ. Beneath throne, STAR over ΑΙ.

Petrograd, no. 638.

331 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, ΙΣΙ. Beneath throne, STAR over Α.

Schulman, White-King Sale, 1904, no. 610 (Pl. vi).

b. ΑΡ in field.

332 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, ΑΡ. Beneath throne, Δ.

Egger Sale xlv, no. 720 (Pl. xx).

333 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, ΑΡ. Beneath throne, STAR over Δ.

Petrograd, no. 635; C. S. Bement Coll.

334 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, ΑΡ. Beneath throne, STAR over Σ.

Egger Sale xli, 1912, no. 735, Plate X.

335 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, ΑΡ. Beneath throne, ΚΑΡ.

Egger Sale, Jan., 1908, no. 632 (Pl. xx); Sotheby, Cumberland-Clark Sale, 1914, no. 283 (Pl. viii).

336 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (to r.) ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ (to l.). Helmeted Athene standing to l. holds wreath-bearing Nike in outstretched r., rests l. on shield and spear. On l., outside inscription, ΑΡ | Α.

London, no. 5, Plate X.

337 HEMIDRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (to r.) ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ (to l.). Single cornucopiae. On l., outside inscription, Α (ΑΡ ?) | Σ.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 12 (Pl. lxix, 9).

338 DIOBOL.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (to r.) ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ (to l.). Inverted anchor.

Paris, no. 1297 (Pl. xxiii, 8).

c. 𐤉𐤐 in field.

339 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar to no. 326.

Rev. Similar to no. 326. On l., outside inscription, 𐤉𐤐. Beneath throne, Δ.

Egger Sale, Jan., 1908, no. 631, Plate X; London, no. 4 (Pl. xxii, 2); Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 4; Paris, no. 1283.

340 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, 𐤉𐤐. Beneath throne, Σ.

Paris, no. 1282; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 5; Sotheby, Headlam Sale, 1916, no. 449 (Pl. x).

341 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, 𐤉𐤐. Beneath throne, ΑΦ (sometimes has form ΑΙ).

Egger Sale xlv, 1913, no. 768 (Pl. xxi); Newell; Amer. Num. Soc.

342 DRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Alexander II to r. in dotted circle.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (to r.) ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ (to l.). Double cornucopiae bound with taenia. On l., between design and inscription, 𐤉𐤐 | Δ.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 8; Jameson Coll., no. 1741, Plate X.

343 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., between design and inscription, 𐤉𐤐 | Σ.

Paris, no. 1291 (Pl. xxiii, 5); Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 9; London, no. 6.

344 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., between design and inscription, 𐤉𐤐 | ΑΦ.

Paris, no. 1292; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 7.

345 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., between design and inscription, 𐤉𐤐 | ΔΙ (or is this also ΑΦ?).

Paris, no. 1293.

346 HEMIDRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Single cornucopiae. On l., outside inscription, ΚΑΡ. On l., between design and inscription, Δ.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 11.

d. Ξ in field.

347 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar to no. 326.

Rev. Similar to no. 326. On l., outside inscription, Ξ. Beneath throne, Δ.

Paris, no. 1289; Sotheby, Delbeke Coll., 1907, no. 222, **Plate X.**

348 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Ξ. Beneath throne, Σ.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 6 (Pl. lxix, 7).

349 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Ξ. Beneath throne, A.

Paris, no. 1288.

350 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar to no. 342.

Rev. Similar to no. 342. On l., between design and inscription, Ξ | Σ.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 10 (Pl. lxix, 8); Petrograd, no. 639.

351 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., between design and inscription, Ξ | ΑΦ.

Newell; London, no. 7, **Plate X.**

352 HEMIDRACHM.

Obv. Similar to preceding.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (to r.) ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ (to l.). Winged Nike advancing to l., holds wreath in outstretched r., palm branch in l. On l., between figure and inscription, Ξ | ΑΦ.

London, nos. 10 (Pl. xxii, 5) and 11.

e. ⁂ in field.

353 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar to no. 326.

Rev. Similar to no. 326. On l., outside inscription, ⁂. Beneath throne, Σ.

Jameson Coll., no. 1739, **Plate X.**

354 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, 𐡀. Beneath throne, A.

Paris, no. 1286.

355 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, 𐡀. Beneath throne, Α|.

Petrograd, no. 637.

f. 𐡀 in field.

356 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar to no. 342.

Rev. Similar to no. 342. On l., between design and inscription, 𐡀 | ΑΦ.

Paris, no. 1294.

357 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., between design and inscription, 𐡀 | Α|.

London, no. 8.

g. No monograms or letters.

358 GOLD STATER.

Obv. Diademed head of Alexander II to r. in fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ (to r.)ΘΕΟΥ | ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ(to l.)ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ (in exergue). Zeus enthroned to l., holds wreath-bearing Nike in outstretched r., and rests l. on sceptre.

London (formerly Montagu Coll., Sotheby, March, 1896, no. 716) Plate X.

The Antiochene tetradrachms of Alexander follow those of Demetrius II in style and type: obverse, the king's head, reverse, Olympian Zeus enthroned. Five supervising magistrates ΙΣΙ, 𐡃𐡐, 𐡐, Ξ, 𐡀, corresponding perhaps to the five years of Alexander's reign, place their signatures in the field of the tetradrachms, while their subordinates, four to each superior, place their signatures beneath the Zeus throne. ΙΣΙ we know to have been in office shortly after the revolt which overthrew Demetrius' rule in Antioch (spring of 129 B. C.) and continued therein until the end of that year or the commencement of the next. This fact is determined by a series of bronze coins, consisting of two denominations as follows: (I) Diademed head of Alexander Zebinas, rev., standing Dionysus; (II) Bust of winged Eros, rev., Anchor, all

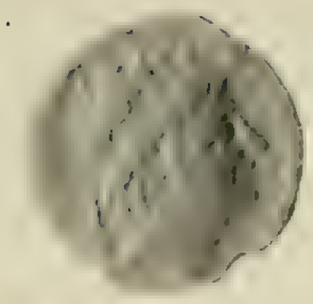


fig. 15

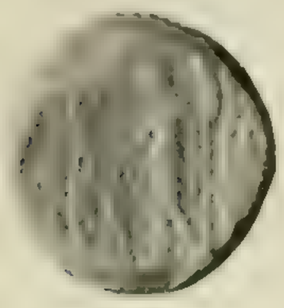






fig. 16

bearing the signature ΙΣΙ and the dates ΔΠΡ (year ending October 128 B. C.) and ΕΠΡ (after October 128), of the latter only one or two specimens being known. The next series of bronze that we can with certainty attribute to Antioch, also consists of two denominations: (I)





fig. 17

Head of Alexander in lion's skin, rev., Nike to left; (II) Helmeted head of Alexander, rev., Tyche with rudder (Hunterian Coll., no. 40, Pl. lxix, 12). These pieces bear no date, but have the signature ΚΡ of the third magistrate found on the tetradrachms. The dating of the bronze issues seems, therefore, to have been discontinued shortly after the commencement of the year ΕΠΡ.

The first issue of drachms has a standing Athene for their reverse type, which in the next issue is changed to a double cornucopiae; the half drachm has the single cornucopiae. The letters and monograms of the fractional pieces are the same as on the larger denomination with the exception of the last issue of the drachm which has ⊕, a monogram which does not occur on the tetradrachm. But, in revenge, the latter have the monogram ⁂ not found on the drachms.

In no. 358 we have a special coinage of gold staters which in style seem to parallel the later issues of the silver coins. This would corroborate the suggestion already made by M. Babelon (*loc. cit.*, p. cl.) that their appearance was closely connected with the famous seizure of the golden Nike from the statue of Olympian Zeus set up by Antiochus IV in the Apollo temple at Daphne. To such straits had the royal treasury been reduced under Alexander II! When the people murmured at this sacrilege, Alexander is said to have replied that he was only 'accepting the victory that Zeus offered him' — this after he had but a short time previously been routed by the army of Antiochus VIII!

Quite in keeping with the spirit of this reply would be the title Nikephoros and the Zeus type of the coins struck from the metal of the stolen statue.

REGENCY OF CLEOPATRA FOR ANTIOCHUS VIII.

Rule in Antioch 122-120 B. C.

This strong-willed queen, first the wife of Alexander Balas, then of Demetrius II, and during the latter's captivity in Parthia, of Antiochus VII, received with ill grace the return of Demetrius now imbued with Parthian manners. When in 126 B. C. he was disastrously defeated by Alexander II she repudiated him and seized the reins of government in her own name and that of their joint son Antiochus — nicknamed Grypus because of his hooked nose. Demetrius himself perished a short time after and Cleopatra divided the Seleucid lands with the usurper Alexander. Cleopatra soon secured the assistance of Ptolemy against the man he himself had once helped to place on the throne of Syria. The forces of Alexander were completely routed in 123 B. C., and in the following year Cleopatra and her son, now Antiochus VIII, secured the possession of the capital Antioch. It was in this year then (Aer. Sel. ΨΙΡ or 190) that coins were first struck at the Antiochene mint in the joint names and bearing the portraits of Cleopatra and Antiochus, although their coins had been appearing at Ake-Ptolemais since ΖΠΡ.

359 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Draped bust of Cleopatra with stephanos to r., in front of diademed head of Antiochus VIII. Border of dots.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ | ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑΣ (to r.) ΚΑΙ | ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ (to l.). Zeus, legs draped, end of chlamis hanging over l. arm, seated to l., holds wreath-bearing Nike in outstretched r., rests l. on sceptre. On l., outside inscription, IE. Beneath throne, A.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 3, **Plate XI.**

360 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, IE. Beneath throne, Δ.

Newell, **Plate XI**; London, no. 5; Petrograd, no. 661.

361 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Similar. On l., outside inscription, IE. Beneath throne, AI.

Paris, no. 1361 ; L. & L. Hamburger, Sale of Prince Alexander of Hesse, Oct., 1889, no. 288 (Pl. ii).

The style and details of the reverses of these tetradrachms is the same as those of Alexander II for Antioch, as are also the subordinate magistrates A, Δ, and AI all of whom are found active under the two reigns. The silver issue is small while that of the bronze is much larger. In the latter we have two denominations, fortunately all dated.



fig. 18



fig. 19

The largest has obverse, Diademed and radiated head of Antiochus VIII, reverse, Owl on amphora and inscription identical to that on the tetradrachms. The small denomination has obverse, Bust of Tyche, reverse, Rudder handle and a similar inscription. It is noticeable that the inscription on both the bronze and the silver issues of Antioch omits the title Θέα after Cleopatra's name, a peculiarity not found on the issues of the other large mint at Ake-Ptolemais where coins of regal types and Attic weight were being struck at this time. Another and absolute proof that our tetradrachms and the bronzes just described belong together lies in the fact that the same supervising magistrate signs his initials (IE) on both. This magistrate (IE) is perhaps the same individual who in ΣΠΡ is found signing the issue of Phoenician tetradrachms struck by Demetrius II at Ascalon (Jameson Coll., no. 1736, Pl. lxxxviii). He seems to have later become a supporter of Cleopatra and as a reward was placed in charge of the central mint at Antioch when that city came under her dominion on the fall of Alexander. His assistants, however, belong to Antioch, and their signatures, together with the style and technique of the new coins issued, prove the Syrian capital to have been the mint. The subordinates on the silver sign with letters, on the bronze with symbols, a peculiarity already long in vogue on the coinages of our mint. These bronzes, in addition to the letters IE and the symbols, all bear the dates ϥP and AϥP, showing that the issues in the two metals appeared early in 122

B. C. and lasted till perhaps the end of 121 B. C. We have coins dated as late as ΒϘΡ with the portraits and names of Cleopatra and Antiochus VIII for Sidon and Ake-Ptolemais, but their Antiochene issues seem to have ceased in ΑϘΡ (Oct. 122-Oct. 121).

ANTIOCHUS VIII.

First rule in Antioch, 121-113 B. C.

Sometime in the course of the year 121-120 B. C. Antiochus VIII found cause to suspect the designs of his mother Cleopatra and forced her to drink a poison cup which she had actually intended for him. After this event Antiochus VIII ruled alone in what remained of the Seleucid dominions.

a. Athene type.

362 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Antiochus VIII to r., in fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ (to r.) ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ (to l.). Athene, helmeted and adorned with Aegis, standing to l., holds wreath-bearing Nike in outstretched r., spear in l. which she rests on shield. The whole in laurel wreath. On l., outside inscription, ΙΕ | Θ.

London, no. 17 Plate XI; Newell; Petrograd, no. 687.[38]

363 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, ΙΕ | Ͼ.

Paris, no. 1428.

364 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, ΙΕ | ⊬.

Paris, no. 1429 (Pl. xxv, 7).

In the Brit. Mus. Cat., Syria, nos. 18, 19, and 20 of Antiochus VIII are three coins which may belong to this series, but as none of them have the characteristic letters ΙΕ and as I have not been able to study them in the original or in casts, they have not been included.

[38] Jameson Coll., no. 1746 (Pl. lxxxviii) has not been included as it appears to be a barbaric imitation.

b. Zeus Uranius type.

365 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar inscription. Zeus Uranius, naked to waist, end of chlamis over l. shoulder, standing to l., head adorned with crescent, holds star in outstretched r., rests l. on sceptre. The whole enclosed in laurel wreath. On l., outside inscription, IE | A. On r., between figure and inscription, A.

Paris, no. 1416; Jameson Coll., no. 1745, **Plate XI**; Petrograd, no. 677.

366 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, IE | A. On r., between figure and inscription, AI.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 7.

367 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, IE | A. On r., between figure and inscription, N.

London, no. 10; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 8; Newell.

368 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, IE | A. On r., between figure and inscription, O.

Paris, no. 1413 (Pl. xxv, 3); Schulman Sale, 1904, White-King Coll., no. 617 (Pl. vi).

369 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, IE | A. On r., between figure and inscription, P.

Paris, no. 1419.

370 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, IE | A. On r., between figure and inscription, A. In exergue, K.

Paris, no. 1418.

371 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, IE | A. On r., between figure and inscription, AI. In exergue, K.

London, no. 9, Plate XI.

372 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, IE | A. On r., between figure and inscription, P. In exergue, K.

Newell.

373 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, IE | A. On r., between figure and inscription, Φ. In exergue, K.

J. Ward Coll., no. 799 (Pl. xx); Paris, no. 1415.

374 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, IE | A. On r., between figure and inscription, N. In exergue, N.

London, no. 11; Newell.

375 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, IE | A. On r., between figure and inscription, P. In exergue, P.

Paris, no. 1414.

376 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, IE | A. In exergue, Δ.

Newell, Plate XI.

376a TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, IE | A. In exergue, P.

London, no. 12.

377 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, IE | A. In exergue, Φ.

Paris, no. 1417.

378 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar, but Zeus entirely undraped. On l., outside inscription, IE | A. In exergue, Π.

London, no. 16.

c. Drachms with Tyche type.

379 DRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head as above, in fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ (to r.) ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ (to l.). Tyche standing to l. holds rudder in r., cornucopiae in l. On l., outside inscription, IE.

Petrowicz Coll. (published by Dr. Macdonald in the Zeitschrift für Numismatik, 1912, vol. 29, Pl. v, 13). Because of the very youthful head on this coin it probably is to be placed under the first issue of this reign.

380 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar, but an older portrait and with border of dots.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, (I)E.

Petrowicz Coll. (published by Dr. Macdonald in the Zeitschrift für Numismatik, 1912, vol. 29, Pl. v, 14).

The tetradrachms just catalogued are accompanied throughout by a bronze coinage consisting of two denominations: (I) obverse, Radi-

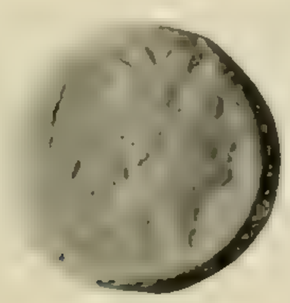


fig. 20



fig. 21

ate and diademed head of Antiochus VIII to right, reverse, Eagle to left (fig. 20); (II) obverse, Bust of Artemis, reverse, standing Apollo (fig. 21). As the tetradrachms, so these bronze coins all bear the magistrate's initials IE. In addition the bronze coins bear dates from ΒϘΡ to ΘϘΡ inclusive, definitely placing the silver issues within a period commencing not earlier than October 121 or lasting not later than October 113 B. C. But we know from our historical sources that in the latter year the half brother of Antiochus Grypus, also named Antiochus with the nickname Cyzicenus, having received help from Egypt and having invaded Cilicia, at last obtained the decision over Antiochus VIII (Grypus) and drove him out of Antioch. This event probably took place in the early spring of 113 B. C. at the commencement of the campaigning season.

ANTIOCHUS IX. First rule in Antioch, 113-112 B. C.

Antiochus IX Philopator, nicknamed Cyzicenus, now ruled in Antioch and struck the following coins.

381 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Antiochus IX, with slight beard, to r. Fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ (to r.) ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ (to l.). Athene, helmeted, standing to l. holds wreath-bearing Nike in outstretched r., rests l. on shield and holds spear. The whole surrounded by laurel wreath. On l., outside inscription, Ɲ | A.

Paris, no. 1474; Petrograd, no. 711.

382 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Ɲ | A. On r., between figure and inscription, A.

Newell, Plate XI; Newell; Paris, nos. 1469 and 1470; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 5; Hirsch, Weber Sale, 1908, no. 4132 (Pl. liv); Sotheby, O'Hagan Sale, 1908, no. 694 (Pl. xi).

383 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Ɲ | A. On r., between figure and inscription, Δ.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 6; Paris, no. 1473.

384 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Ɲ | A. On r., between figure and inscription, N.

Paris, nos. 1471 and 1472; Petrograd, nos. 708, 709, and 710; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 7; London, no. 14; Amer. Num. Soc.; Egger Sale, Jan., 1908, no. 652 (Pl. xx).

385 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Ɲ | A. On r., between figure and inscription, O.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 8 (Pl. lxx, 3); Newell; London, no. 13.

The reverse type here chosen by Antiochus IX Cyzicenus for his tetradrachms, reproduces exactly that of his father Antiochus VII, a

gentle reminder to his subjects of his claim to the Syrian throne. ⊼ is now supervising magistrate in the place of Grypus' man IE, but the accompanying A still remains. Although the superior has been changed, the subordinates have not, and so we find Δ, N, O in office during both coinages. As under Grypus, so now, we have a corresponding issue of bronze coins which, being dated, establishes the exact period at which the entire series appeared. As yet only one denomination has turned



fig. 22

up, obverse, Head of Antiochus IX of exactly similar style and appearance as on the tetradrachms; reverse, Thunderbolt. The monogram ⊼ which these bronze coins all bear associates them unmistakably with the silver, and the dates ΘϘP and Ƹ place them between the end of 114 and the beginning of 112 B. C. As Grypus' bronze coins end with a plentiful issue under the date ΘϘP, the present pieces could not have appeared earlier than the spring of 113 B. C. and it is at just this date that our historical sources[39] place the first arrival of Cyzicenus in Antioch.

The new king, however, did not long hold the Syrian capital; for by the following year Grypus, having reorganized his forces, returned, defeated his half brother near Antioch, drove him into flight and laid siege to the city now defended by Cyzicenus' wife Cleopatra. In due course the city fell, and Cleopatra was murdered at the jealous and vindictive insistence of her own sister Tryphaena, the wife of Grypus. The latter was now once more master in Antioch and naturally put an end to the coinage bearing the name, portrait, and types of his brother. These events are proved by the coins to have taken place not later than the spring and summer of 112 B. C., for under the following section is described a bronze coin of Grypus of Antiochene mintage also with the date Ƹ (year ending October 112 B. C.). The city must therefore have surrendered some little time before the beginning of October of that year.

[39] Euseb. I, 257, 38, where this event is placed in the fourth year of the 166th Olympiad, or exactly 113 B. C.; see also Justin XXXIX, 2, 9, "Octo annis" that is 121–113.

ANTIOCHUS VIII. Second reign in Antioch, 112 B. C.

Although, as we have seen, Cyzicenus had suffered a bad defeat outside Antioch and had been forced to leave his wife Cleopatra to defend that city, he must never-the-less have saved a goodly portion of his army and received some reinforcements in addition, for our historians relate that soon after the terrible death of Cleopatra at the hands of Tryphaena, he returned, defeated Grypus, and seized and executed Tryphaena. Grypus found himself so hard pressed that he had once more to evacuate Antioch and fled as far as Aspendus.

We have a bronze coin (Paris, no. 1401) of the same types as described under the first coinage of Grypus but dated ϹΣ. This can only be assigned, on account of the date, to the short period of his second rule in Antioch. As only one specimen has come down to us, the coinage must have been small, which fact harmonizes well with the very short duration of time during which it could have been struck. No silver coins have as yet been published that could, with any probability, be assigned to this particular period.

ANTIOCHUS IX. Second rule in Antioch, early in 111 B. C.

After avenging himself on the person of Tryphaena for the murder of his wife, Cyzicenus did not long enjoy his regained kingdom. By the spring or summer of 111 B. C., Grypus had once more recuperated his forces, and returning from Aspendus drove his half brother out of the capital.[40] Even so, however, Cyzicenus found enough time to issue the following rare tetradrachm.

386 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Antiochus IX, with indication of beard, to r. Fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ (to r.) ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ (to l.). Athene, helmeted, standing, to l., holds wreath-bearing Nike in outstretched r., her l. holds spear and rests on shield. On l., outside inscription, Μ | Α. On r., between figure and inscription, Γ.

Coll. L. Walcher de Molthein, no. 3058 and later in the S. Rosenberg (Frankfurt A/M) Sale, March, 1914, no. 143 (Pl. v), **Plate XI**; Paris, no. 1475.

[40] Eusebius (ed. Schoene) actually says: "Postquam Antiokhus in Aspentum se recepit, A. CLXVII Olompiadis anno primo (= 112–111 B. C.), Kizikenus Antiokhus est potitus. Verum secundo anno eiusdem Olompiadis (= 111–110 B. C.), iterum reversus ab Aspento Antiokhus et ipse Syriam tenet, Kizikenus vero aliquam partem."

Cyzicenus' second reign in Antioch was of such short duration (late in the year 112 to early in the year 111 B. C.)[40] that there could not have been many coins struck. No bronze coins have been published that can with certainty be assigned to this time. The suggestion, however, is here made that the silver tetradrachm just described might have appeared during this short interval between Grypus' second and third reigns in Antioch. The superviser Μ is known only from the two specimens in existence described above and could not therefore have long been in office. The accompanying Α associates this coin with all the Antiochene issues of both Grypus and Cyzicenus, the style is most like the issues of Grypus for his third reign and a compromise between the styles of Cyzicenus' first and third reigns, the subordinate Γ has not appeared before but is actually found on the immediately succeeding issue of Grypus. All these internal evidences seem to point to the attribution here suggested.

ANTIOCHUS VIII. Third reign in Antioch, 111-109 B. C.

As related above, Grypus by the early summer of 111 B. C. had once more appeared[41] in Syria, driven Cyzicenus from Antioch, and commenced what was now his third reign in that city.

387 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Antiochus VIII to r. Fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ (to r.) ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ (to l.). Zeus Uranius, head adorned with crescent, lower part of body draped, end of chlamis over l. shoulder, standing to l., holds star in outstretched r., rests l. on sceptre. On l., outside inscription, ✠ | Α. On r., between figure and inscription, Γ.

Paris, no. 1421 ; Newell.

388 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, ✠ | Α. On r., between figure and inscription, Δ.

Newell, **Plate XI** [formerly Egger Sale xlv, 1913, no. 771 (Pl. xxi)].

[40] See note on preceding page.

[41] Euseb., 259, 2, : Olymp. 167, 2 = 111/10 B. C.

389 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, ⊕ | A. On r., between figure and inscription, K.

Paris, no. 1422; Petrograd, no. 678; Newell.

390 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, ⊕ | A. On r., between figure and inscription, Ξ.

Newell, Plate XI.

391 DRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Antiochus VIII to r. in dotted circle.

Rev. BAΣIΛEΩΣ | ANTIOXOY (to r.) EΠIΦANOY (to l.). Tripod. On l., outside inscription, ⊕ | Γ.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 15.

392 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, ⊕ | N.

London, nos. 7 and 8; Jameson Coll., 1749, Plate XI; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 16; Paris, no. 1423 (Pl. xxv, 4).

393 HEMIDRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar inscription. Winged Nike to l., holds wreath in outstretched r., palm branch in l. On l., outside inscription, ⊕ | Γ.

London, nos. 9, Plate XI, and 10; Petrograd, no. 689; Newell.

394 HEMIDRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, ⊕ | N.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 18.

395 DIOBOL.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar inscription. Ear of wheat, on stalk with two leaves, to r. On l., in field, ⊕ | A.

Imhoof-Blumer, Monnaies Grecques, p. 436, no. 116.

For this series of tetradrachms ⊕ is mint supervisor. The letter A, as heretofore, accompanies the monogram, together with the subordinates Γ, Δ, K, and Ξ, all of whom we have met with before.

In addition to the drachm we find the hemidrachm and diobol, both of which denominations had not been struck for some time.

Accompanying the silver coins are three varieties of bronzes, all evidently of the same denomination, and two of them fortunately dated. In the Hunterian Collection at Glasgow are bronze coins nos. 39-41 (Plate lxx, 2) with the same types as are found in the first and second reigns of Grypus at Antioch, namely: obverse, Head of Antiochus VIII, reverse, Eagle to left, the inscription giving Grypus the (for his coins) unusual title Philometor, and in the exergue the date ΒΣ (between October 111 and October 110). In Paris (no. 1404, Plate xxv, 1) is a similar coin but with the more usual title Epiphanes. The date on this piece is also ΒΣ. These particular coins seem to be scarce; the more usual bronzes struck for the remainder of this period of Grypus' rule in Antioch have for their obverse type, Head of Antiochus VIII, for the reverse, Tripod surmounted by a thunderbolt (see Brit. Mus. Cat., Plate xxvi, 7). These pieces bear no date, but are furnished with the same monogram as the silver, namely, ⊕ or ⊛. The dated bronzes just described also have the two forms of monogram ⊕ and ⊛.

ANTIOCHUS IX. Third reign in Antioch, 109-108 B. C.

396 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Antiochus IX, with slight beard, to r. Fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ (to r.) ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ (to l.). Athene, helmeted, standing to l., holds wreath-bearing Nike in outstretched r., holds spear in l., which she rests on shield; the whole surrounded by laurel wreath. On l., outside inscription, ⊕ | Α. On r., between figure and inscription, Ο.

London, no. 11, Plate XII; Petrograd, no. 714.

397 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, ⊕ | Α. On r., between figure and inscription, Ρ.

Schulman, Dos Santos Coll., Sept., 1906, no. 4846 (Pl. ii).

398 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Φ | A. On r., between figure and inscription, ≶.

Paris, no. 1476.

399 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Φ | A. On r., between figure and inscription, KY.

Newell.

400 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Φ | A. On r., between figure and inscription, ⋔.

Paris, no. 1477 (Pl. xxvi, 9).

401 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Φ | A. On l., between figure and inscription, Φ.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 10 (Pl. lxx, 4).

402 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Φ | A. On r., between figure and inscription, △.

Newell.

403 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Φ | A. On l., between figure and inscription, Φ.

London, no. 12; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 9; Newell.

404 DRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Antiochus IX, as above, in dotted circle.

Rev. Inscription as on preceding coin. Winged Nike to l. holds wreath in outstretched r. On l., outside inscription, Φ | И.

Egger Sale xli, 1912, no. 752, Plate XII.

Modern historians[42] have generally considered this a period of enforced peace between the two antagonists, Grypus now ruling in the

[42] Among others, see Bevan, *loc. cit.*, vol. II, p. 255.

north, and Cyzicenus in Coele-Syria and Phoenicia. Our coins would seem to modify this supposition in so far as the cessation of hostilities will have to be placed as late as 108/107 B. C., at which time Grypus definitely secured Antioch and retained it until his death in 96 B. C. For we have the above series of tetradrachms which by style and monogram certainly belong to Antioch. The portrait, type, and inscription show the pieces to have been struck by Cyzicenus. In fabric and style they are the latest of his Antiochene issues *with the Athene type;* in style and fabric they are subsequent to the issues of Grypus' third reign (see Plate XI, nos. 388, 390), but certainly precede the fourth reign issues of the same ruler (Plate XII) as well as the last issues of Cyzicenus himself (Plate XII, nos. 414-5, 417-8). Sequence of style and fabric would therefore place them at just this juncture. In cor-

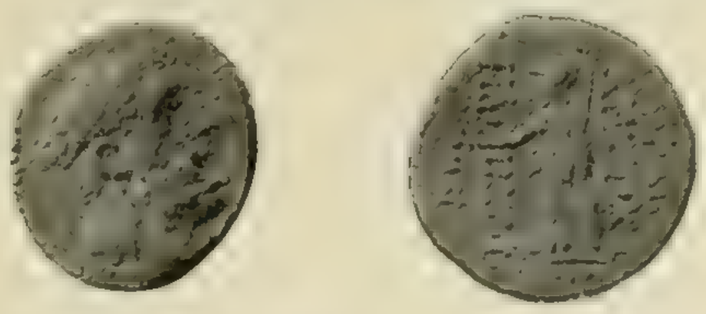


fig. 23

roboration of this dating we find a series of bronze coins of the fabric peculiar to Antioch (conformed to by all the bronze issues of this city since the first days of Antiochus VII Sidetes), with types, obverse, Bearded head of Herakles, reverse, Athene armed with helmet, spear and shield, standing to left. These coins all bear in the field the monogram ⁂ of the silver, and in the exergue the date ΓΣ (Glasgow, nos. 20 and 21). This entire coinage of silver and bronze coins falls, therefore, at some point between October 110 and October 109.[43]

If our conclusions are accepted—and it seems gratuitous to discard what appears to be clear and definite evidence furnished by our coins—there is revealed to us a period of rule by Cyzicenus in Antioch unrecorded in the confused and meagre historical notices of this period,

[43] Brit. Mus. Catalogue "Kings of Syria," p. 93, nos. 24 and 25 give the date ΕΣ. This date on no. 25 is very doubtful and is questioned by Gardner himself. Mr. G. F. Hill, in answer to my query and in spite of the difficulty due to war conditions, very kindly undertook to verify the dates on these two British Museum specimens. He reports that the date on no. 24 reads ΓΣ, on no. 25 ϵΣ. As the middle seriph is entirely lacking, and the lower seriph is very faulty we would seem to be justified in reading these dates ΓΣ as on the Glasgow specimens. It is to be remarked here that the series of bronze coins of Antiochus IX, obv. Bust of Eros, rev. Nike (type of B. M. Cat., nos. 27–30), bearing an almost unbroken series of dates running from Σ to ΑΙΣ could not possibly have been struck at Antioch, because Cyzicenus did not reign so many years in that city. They are rather to be attributed to Sidon.

that have survived to our day. On the other hand, this coinage and the dates of its issue very neatly explain an obscure point in a certain royal decree of this very period. I refer to the marble slab unearthed in the spring of 1887 in the ruins of the temple of Aphrodite at Paphos in Cyprus.[44] Upon the marble is engraved a transcription of a letter from Antiochus VIII to Ptolemy Alexander, and also another letter (very much mutilated) from the city of Seleucia in Pieria. The following is the royal letter as restored by U. Wilcken ;[45] the second letter is not reproduced because of its poor state of preservation.

[Β]ασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίωι τῶι καὶ
[Ἀλ]εξάνδρωι τῶι ἀδελφῶι χαίρειν. Εἰ ἔρρωσαι, εἴη ἄν ὡς βου-
[λόμ]εθα, καὶ αὐτοὶ δὲ ὑγιαίνομεν καὶ σοῦ ἐμνημονεύομεν
[φιλο]στόργως. Σελευκεῖς τοὺς ἐν Πιερίαι τῆς ἱερᾶς καὶ ἀσύλου
[πάλαι] μὲν τῶι πατρὶ ἡμῶν προσκληρωθέντας καὶ τὴν
[παρ' αὐτ]ῶν εὔνοιαν μέχρι τέλους βεβαίαν συντηρήσαν-
[τας, ἐμμείνα]ντας δε καὶ τῇ πρὸς ἡμᾶς φιλοστοργίαι καὶ ταῦ-
[τα διὰ πολλῶ]ν καὶ καλῶν ἔργων καὶ μάλιστ' ἐν τοῖς ἔπει-
[τα ἀναγκαι]οτάτοις καιροῖς ἀποδειξαμένους καὶ κα-
[λῶς καὶ μεγαλ]οψύχως καὶ αὐτῶν ἀξίως ἐπαυξήσαντες
[εἰς μεῖζον πρ]οηγάγομεν ἀξίωμα, καὶ νυνὶ δὲ τῆς πρώ-
[της εὐεργ]εσίας καταξιῶσαι σπουδάζοντες
[ἐκρίναμεν εἰ]ς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἐλευθέρους
[εἶναι. Ἀκολούθω]ς αἷς ἐποιησάμεθα πρὸς ἀλλή-
[λους συνθήκαις, ὅ]πως καὶ πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα
[φιλόστοργον μέλλῃ] ἐκφανέστερον ἔσεσθαι.
[γράφω σοι, ▨▨▨

once nore seized the reins of government in that city. But the letter itself speaks of the honor decreed to Seleucia as having *only just* (*νυνὶ δὲ*) been given — that is, in 108 B. C.— and by its wording suggests that the immediate reason for the granting of this honor was the loyalty and friendship shown to Antiochus by the city in very recent times of great danger or trouble (*ἐν τοῖς ἔπειτα ἀναγκαιοτάτοις καιροῖς*). Wilcken himself[46] draws attention to the otherwise curious fact that three years had elapsed between the return of Grypus from Aspendus and the promulgation of the decree; and yet one would infer from the wording of the letter that the particular occasion which induced the granting of the honor had taken place quite recently. If now, as our coins would seem to show, Cyzicenus did succeed in once more driving Grypus out of Antioch (about 109 B. C.) and the latter in this strait was received by Seleucia, loyally supported by her inhabitants, and so enabled not long afterwards to regain Antioch, we would possess a full and very plausible explanation not only of the immediate reason for the granting of the honor of autonomy, but also for the date (108 B. C.) at which this was accomplished. Thus the decree and our coins, when taken together, reciprocally serve to explain and throw light upon each other.

ANTIOCHUS VIII. Fourth reign in Antioch, 108-96 B. C.

405 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Antiochus VIII to r. Fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ (to r.) ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ (to l.). Zeus, legs draped, seated to l., holds wreath-bearing Nike (always to r.) in outstretched r., rests l. on sceptre; the whole surrounded by laurel wreath. On l., outside inscription, Ε | Α. Beneath throne, Δ or Α.

Newell, Plate XII; Newell (another); Petrograd, nos. 695, 696, and 697; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 12 (Pl. lxix, 20); Coll. L. Walcher de Molthein, no. 3072 (Pl.xxix); London, no. 2 (Coins of the Ancients, Pl. 61); Paris, nos, 1433, 1434 and 1435; Jameson Coll., no. 1744 (Pl. lxxxviii); Egger Sale, Jan., 1908, nos. 648, 649, and 650 (Pl. xx); J. Ward Coll., no. 800 (Pl. xx); Hirsch, Weber Sale, no. 4127 (Pl.

[46] His actual words (*loc. cit.*, p. 444–5) are: "Jetzt aber, d. h. nach Obigem im Sommer des Jahres 108 v. Chr., hat er ihnen die vornehmste Wohlthat (*πρώτη εὐεργεσία*) erwiesen, indem er sie für ewige Zeit für 'frei' erklärt hat *Weshalb er gerade im Jahre 108 sich dazu entschlossen hat, wissen wir nicht.*" (The italics are mine.)

liv); Egger Sale xlv, 1913, no. 772 (Pl. xxi); Egger Sale xli, 1912, no. 746 (Pl. xx): Sotheby, Bunbury Sale, 1896, no. 589 (Pl. vi); Cumberland-Clark Sale, 1914, no. 285 (Pl. viii); Schulman, Dos Santos Coll., Sept., 1906, no. 4845 (Pl. ii).

406 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Ε | Α. Beneath throne, Α.

London, no. 1 ; Petrograd, no. 693.

407 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Ε | Α. Beneath throne, Π.

London, nos. 3 and 4; Paris, no. 1431 (Pl. xxv, 9); Amer. Num. Soc.; Petrograd, nos. 690 and 691 ; Schulman, White-King Sale, 1904, no. 621 (Pl. vii); Egger Sale xlvi, 1914, no. 2469, **Plate XII**.

408 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Ε | Α. Beneath throne, ⋔.

London, no. 5 ; Paris, no. 1432 ; Petrograd, no. 694.

409 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar head in circle of dots.

Rev. Similar inscription. Tripod. On l., outside inscription, Ε | Α.

London, no. 6 (Pl. xxvi, 4); Coll. L. Walcher de Molthein, no. 3054 (Pl. xxviii).

410 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Ε | Γ.

Newell ; Petrograd, no. 680 ; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 13, **Plate XII.**

411 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Ε | Δ.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 14.

412 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Ε | Ρ.

Petrograd, no 679.

413 HEMIDRACHM.

Obv. Head as on preceding.

Rev. Inscription as on the preceding. Winged Nike to l., holds wreath in outstretched r. On l., outside inscription, Ε | Α.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 17.

Aside from the evidence furnished by a natural sequence of style, the date of the appearance of this issue of tetradrachms, drachms and hemidrachms is fixed by the fact that it evidently served as the prototype for the autonomous coin issues of Seleucia in Pieria, first struck in 104 B. C. This city, for its steadfast loyalty to Grypus, was granted autonomy by him in 108 B. C. Comparing this date with the last year of Antiochus IX Cyzicenus' third reign in Antioch (coins dated ΓΣ and therefore struck before October of 109 B. C.), the inference becomes obvious that Seleucia stood loyally by Grypus in this his last period of exile from his capital and probably aided him to a great extent in recovering it. This therefore furnished him the real reason for granting the city its autonomy at this particular time.

Dr. Macdonald has already suggested the attribution to the Antiochene mint of the coins described above (nos. 405-413) because of their great similarity in every respect to certain bronze coins of autonomous type struck a little later than this time in that city (see Catalogue of the Hunterian Coll., vol. iii, p. 100).



fig. 24

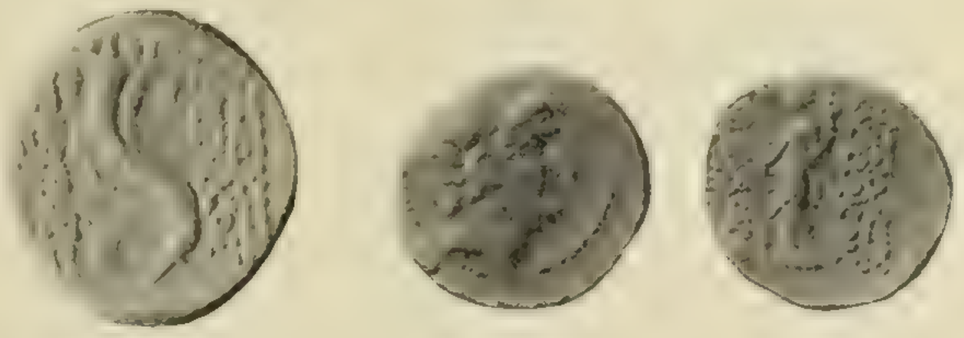


fig. 25

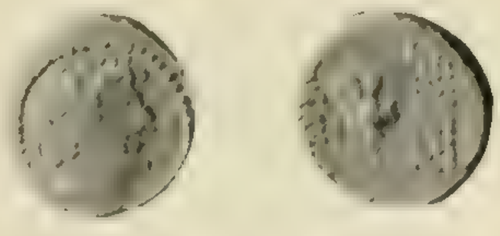


fig. 26

Accompanying the series of three denominations in silver as described above, there was a further issue of three denominations in bronze (I) obverse, Diademed head of Grypus, reverse, Double cornucopiae; (II) Similar head, reverse, Tyche standing with cornucopiae and rudder; (III) Similar head, reverse, Rose. Unfortunately none of these are dated but all bear the monogram ⁋ exactly as found on the silver.

The sequence of types and style, as seen on our Plates XI and XII, is sufficient to prove correct M. Babelon's assignment of these coins to Antiochus VIII Grypus rather than to Antiochus XI as suggested by Gardner in the British Museum Catalogue. The fallacy of the latter's attribution was also seen and definitely refuted by J. Friedländer in the Zeitschrift für Numismatik, vol. VII, 1880, pp. 225-227.

ANTIOCHUS IX. Fourth reign in Antioch, 96-95 B. C.

Upon the murder of Grypus by his minister of war Heraclion, Antiochus IX Cyzicenus apparently was able to seize Antioch once more. His success was immediately challenged by Grypus' eldest son Seleucus who proclaimed himself king and in the following year was able to overthrow Cyzicenus. The latter either perished by his own hand in the final battle (according to Eusebius) or was captured and put to death by Seleucus (according to Josephus).

414 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed and beardless head of Antiochus IX to r. Fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ (to r.) ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ (to l.). Zeus, naked to waist, enthroned to l., holds wreath-bearing Nike in outstretched r., rests l. on sceptre. The whole surrounded by laurel wreath. On l., outside inscription, Ɛ | Α Beneath throne, Δ or Λ.

Sotheby, Bunbury Sale, no. 577, **Plate XII**; Paris, no. 1480 (Pl. xxvi, 10); Coll. L. Walcher de Molthein, no. 3057 (Pl. xxviii); Hirsch, Weber Sale, 1908, no. 4131 (Pl. liv); Newell.

415 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Ɛ | Α. On l., between figure and inscription, Η. Beneath throne, Δ.

Newell, **Plate XII** (formerly Egger Sale xlv, 1913, no. 774); London, no. 5 (Pl. xxv, 1); Egger Sale, Jan., 1908, no. 654 (Pl. xx).

416 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Ɛ | Α. On l., between figure and inscription, Π. Beneath throne, Δ.

Schulman, White-King Sale, 1904, no. 627 (Pl. vii).

417 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Ɛ | Α. Beneath throne, Π.

Jameson Coll., no. 1752, **Plate XII**.

418 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Ɛ | Α. Beneath throne, Ν.

Newell, **Plate XII**.

419 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar head as above in dotted circle.

Rev. Similar inscription as on preceding. Tyche, with calathos, standing to l. holds rudder in r., cornucopiae in l. On l., outside inscription, Ξ | Π.

London, no. 15, **Plate XII**; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), nos. 11 and 12.

420 HEMIDRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar inscription. Winged Nike to l. holds wreath in outstretched r. On l., outside inscription, Ξ.

Paris, no. 1481 (Pl. xxvi, 11); Newell, **Plate XII.**

Not only has there been some discussion as to when and where the above series was struck, but it has even been doubted[47] that it was issued by Cyzicenus. The portrait is unlike any other known one of Antiochus IX in that it is clean shaven.

Comparing the tetradrachms with those of the fourth reign of Grypus in Antioch and those of Seleucus VI (Plate XII) we see that because of style, fabric, and monograms the present series can only fall *between* the coins of those two sovereigns. The monogram ⏃ and the letter Π occur on the last coins of Grypus (nos. 405 and 407), while on the coins of Seleucus we find not only ⏃, but, in addition, the letter N which is to be seen beneath the throne on no. 418 (Cyzicenus) but not on any of Grypus' latest issues. These coins of Cyzicenus must belong to Antioch, as they are of identical fabric with this city's coinage under the preceding king as well as under the later kings. We have already found the monogram ⏃ used on the Antiochene issues in and from the time of Antiochus VII, while the letter A (which *may* denote the Antiochene mint) has accompanied the monogram of the supervising magistrate for Antiochus VII, VIII and IX. All these evidences combined place the coins in question at Antioch between the death of Antiochus VIII Grypus and the arrival in that city of Seleucus VI.

In looking closely at the portrait of Cyzicenus on these coins we recognize that although it is clean shaven, still it has a decidedly older look than the portrait on the issues of this monarch which we have studied under nos. 381-385, 386, 396-404. On these the features are not so heavy, the cheeks are thinner, and, in spite of the slight beard running around the curve of the jaw, there is an unmistakable air of youthfulness about it that is entirely lacking on the clean-shaven heads.

[47] See Bevan, *loc. cit.*, vol. II, p. 304, appendix V.

Cyzicenus, when he first secured possession of Antioch in the year 113 B. C., was a young man between twenty and twenty-five years of age, for we know that in 129 B. C. his mother Cleopatra had sent him to Cyzicus for his education. His features, with nascent beard, as they appear on his first coin issues at Antioch, resemble those of many a young Syrian of to-day. By 96 B. C. Cyzicenus was in his late thirties or early forties and, like the majority of modern Levantines, may well have grown gross and fleshy. In fact we know from our historians that he was a very heavy drinker, which would certainly, to a great extent, account for the changed features found on his last issues of the years 96 to 95 B. C. There is no reason to suppose that these coins, bearing as they do his characteristic inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ are the issues of any other of the Seleucid kings than Antiochus IX Cyzicenus.

In speaking of the war which raged between Cyzicenus and Seleucus after the death of Grypus, Eusebius distinctly mentions the fact that Cyzicenus held Antioch.[48] Our coins undoubtedly show that Cyzicenus held Antioch almost immediately after the death of Grypus, and that some months must have elapsed before Seleucus was able to dispossess him. It may be to this period, when Cyzicenus found himself hard pressed by Seleucus VI and in great need of funds, that the story related by Clement of Alexandria (Protrept. 4, 52) is to be assigned, in which Cyzicenus caused a golden statue of Zeus in Antioch to be melted and replaced by one of gilt.

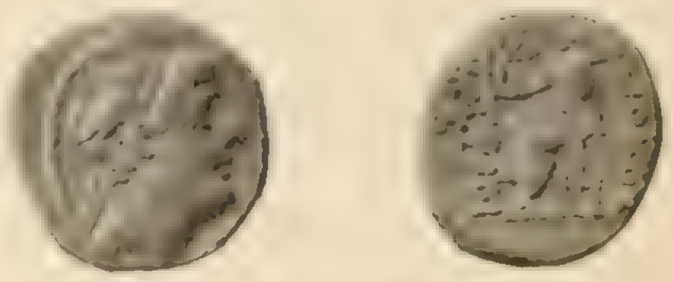


fig. 27

As usual there was also a coinage of bronze in addition to the silver. The types are, obverse, Beardless head of Cyzicenus to right, as on the silver, reverse, Zeus Nikephoros enthroned to left, in field the monogram $\frac{E}{A}$, and various symbols. For representations see Brit. Mus. Cat., Syria, Plate xxv, 4 (fig. 27), and Paris, Plate, xxvi, 15.

[48] Eusebius (Ed- Schoene) "Antiokhus vero Kizikenus exercitu collecto ex Antiokhia urbe, et praelio commisso devictus est. Universum itaque regnum ad Seleukum veniebat, et Antiokhiam obtinuit.

SELEUCUS VI. Ruled in Antioch, 95-94 B. C.

After a considerable struggle ending in a pitched battle Seleucus VI was enabled to vanquish his uncle Cyzicenus, and make good his own claim to his father's dominions in Syria.

a. With monogram ⊓.

421 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Seleucus VI to r. Fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ (to r.) ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ | ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ (to l.). Zeus, naked to waist, enthroned to l., holds wreath-bearing Nikė in outstretched r., rests l. on sceptre. The whole surrounded by laurel wreath. On l., outside inscription, Α | ⊓ | Α. Beneath throne, ⚠.

Newell, **Plate XII** (formerly Hirsch, Philipsen Sale, no. 2937); Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 7; Paris, no. 1513; Petrograd, no. 730; Sotheby, O'Hagan Sale, 1908, no. 700 (Pl. xi).

422 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Α | ⊓ | Α. Beneath throne, Α.

Newell, **Plate XII**.

423 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Α | ⊓ | Α. Beneath throne, Ν.

Egger Sale xli, 1912, no. 757 (Pl. xxi), same obverse die as Newell specimen of 421 (see **Plate XII**); Paris, no. 1512; Jameson Coll., no. 1756 (Pl. lxxxix); Egger Sale, Jan., 1908, no. 656 (Pl. xx), same obverse die as following no. 424, Newell specimen.

b. With monogram ⊬.

424 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, ⊬ | Α. Beneath throne, C.

Newell, **Plate XII** (formerly Egger Sale xli, 1912, no. 755), same obverse die as Egger specimen catalogued under no. 423; Paris, no. 1511 (Pl. xxvii, 1); Newell.

425 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Portrait of Seleucus VI slightly bearded.

Rev. Similar to preceding. On l., outside inscription, ⊬ | Α. Beneath throne, C.

Jameson Coll., no. 1757 (Pl. lxxxix).

426 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar head with slight beard, to r.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ (to r.) ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ | ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ (to l.). Winged Nike to l. holds wreath in outstretched r. On l., outside inscription, ꟻ | A. To r. of Nike, C.

Jameson Coll., no. 1758, **Plate XII**; Egger Sale xlv, 1913, no. 737 (Pl. xx).

427 DRACHM.

Obv. Bearded portrait to r.

Rev. Similar to preceding but inscription omits title ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ. On l., outside inscription, ꟻ | A. On l., between figure and inscription, C.

Paris, nos. 1518 (Pl. xxvii, 3) and 1519.

428 HEMIDRACHM.

Obv. Similar to preceding.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ (to r.) ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ | ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ (to l.). Double cornucopiae bound with taenia. On l., outside inscription, ꟻ (perhaps ꟻ | A?). To l. of cornucopiae, C.

London, nos. 5, **Plate XII**, and 6; Paris, no. 1520 (Pl. xxv, 4); Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), nos. 8 (Pl. lxx, 9) and 9.

The Antiochene issues of Seleucus VI follow his predecessors' closely in both style and types. The coinage is divided into two series, each characterized by a special mint supervisor. ℕ of nos. 421 to 423 we have already met with in the first coinage at Antioch of Cyzicenus: ꟻ is new to our studies. The A which accompanies the chief magistrate's monogram on all the coins of the previous few reigns is again found. Of the subordinates only C is new. That the ℕ and the ꟻ series really emanated from one and the same mint is definitely proved by the fact that certain obverse dies are common to both. The latest

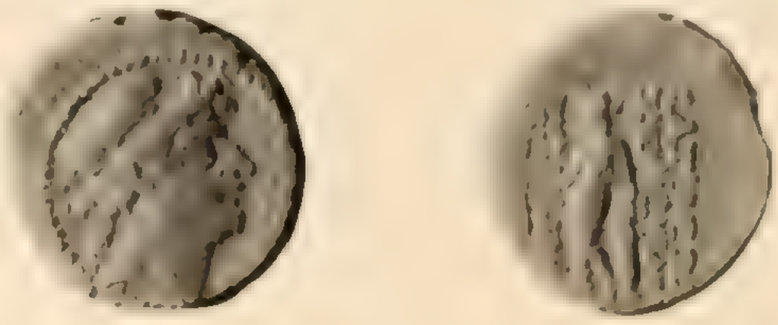


fig. 28



fig. 29

issues of the ꟻ group comprise an issue of drachms and hemidrachms and are all characterized by the portrait of Seleucus showing a slight beard.

In addition to the silver coins there was also struck a bronze coinage of two denominations as follows: (I) Head of Seleucus, reverse, Apollo standing leaning against column (fig. 28); (II) Similar head, reverse, Tripod (fig. 29). The monogram ⋔ is found on all these pieces.

ANTIOCHUS X. Reign in Antioch, 94-92 B. C.

On the death of Cyzicenus, his grown up son, also named Antiochus, asserted his claim to the throne and declared himself king as Antiochus (X) Eusebes Philopator. Having gathered an army he attacked Seleucus in Antioch, was successful and drove him into flight. Antiochus X was now ruler in Antioch and here the following coins were struck in his name.

a. With monogram ⊠.

429 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Antiochus X to r. Fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ (to r.) ΕΥΣΕΒΟΥΣ | ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ (to l.). Zeus, naked to waist, enthroned to l. holds wreath-bearing Nike in outstretched r., rests l. on sceptre. The whole surrounded by laurel wreath. On l., outside inscription, ⊠ | Α. Beneath throne, ⚠.

Newell, **Plate XIII**; London, no. 1; Egger Sale xlvi, 1914, no. 2474 (Pl. xl).

b. With monogram ⋔.

430 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, ⋔ | Α. Beneath throne, ⚠.

Egger Sale xli, no 759, **Plate XIII**; Newell; London, no. 2 (Pl. xxvi, 1); Jameson Coll., no. 1759 (Pl. lxxxix); Paris, nos. 1526, 1527 (Pl. xxvii, 7), 1528, 1529, and 1530; Petrograd, nos. 737, 738 (?), and 739 (?); Coll. L. Walcher de Molthein, no. 3070 (Pl. xxix); J. Ward Coll., no. 802 (Pl. xx) formerly Bunbury Sale (II), 1896, no. 588; E. Bourgey, Dr. Rousset Coll., April, 1908, no. 202 (Pl. vii).

431 DRACHM.

Obv. Similar head in dotted circle.

Rev. Inscription as above. Tyche standing to l. holds rudder in r., and cornucopiae in l. On l., outside inscription, ⋔ | Α.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 1, **Plate XIII**; Paris, no. 1531 (Pl. xxvii, 8).

432 HEMIDRACHM.

Obv. Similar head in dotted circle.

Rev. Inscription as above. Winged Nike to l. holding wreath in outstretched r., palm branch in l. On l., outside inscription, Σ | A.

Berlin (published by Dr. Macdonald in the Zeitschrift für Numismatik, 1912, vol. 29, Pl. v, 17).

The short rule of Antiochus X in Antioch was filled with constant warlike expeditions against the several surviving sons of Grypus in order to defend his own claim to the Syrian throne. Seleucus VI had, indeed, perished in a popular uprising at Mopsuestia in Cilicia whither he had fled after his disastrous battle with Antiochus X, but his two younger brothers, Antiochus and Philip, continued the struggle and were, with difficulty, defeated in 93 B. C. Eusebes, by his acts had aroused the enmity of Ptolemy Lathyrus of Cyprus, who now brought forward a fourth son of Grypus, Demetrius by name, and caused him to be crowned king in Damascus. In 92 B. C. with Demetrius advancing from the south, and Philip attacking from Cilicia in the north, the two brothers were together able to overthrow Antiochus X Eusebes who sought safety in flight to the Parthians.

The coinage of Eusebes in Antioch follows the model established by his immediate predecessors. We have two mint supervisors ⊠ and Σ, both with the usual accompanying A which letter, as remarked before, may either denote another magistrate or, perhaps with more likelihood, the Antioch mint. The subordinate ⚠ is still active.

There is also a series of bronze coins in two denominations: (I) Head of Eusebes as on the silver, reverse, Bonnets of the Dioscuri; (II) Head as before, reverse, Winged Nike. On these bronzes we find the monogram Ρ | C (Brit. Mus. Cat., 6; Paris, no. 1532) already met with on

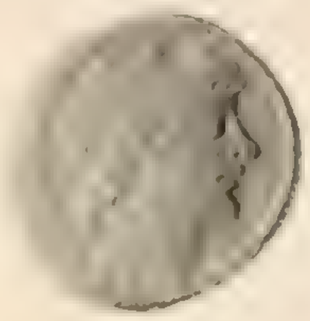


fig. 30

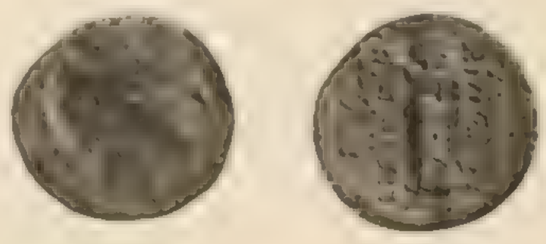


fig. 31

the coins of Seleucus VI, as also the monogram Σ of Eusebes' own silver issues.

ANTIOCHUS XI EPIPHANES PHILADELPHUS.

Ruled in Antioch for a few weeks in 93 B. C.

The tetradrachm described below proves that greater success attended the efforts of Grypus' two sons, Antiochus and Philip, to avenge the defeat of their oldest brother Seleucus VI at the hands of Antiochus X Eusebes than our classical sources would seem to suggest. The writings of our Greek and Roman historians, incomplete and contradictory as they are, speak only of a great battle fought outside of Antioch, in which the brothers were totally defeated by Antiochus X. The elder of the two, Antiochus XI, is said to have lost his life in attempting to escape after the battle by swimming across the Orontes. None of the writers definitely state that the brothers ever succeeded in actually entering Antioch and holding it, even for a short time. But the following coin now proves that not only did Antiochus Philadelphus capture Antioch in the first flush of his success, but that he was able to hold it long enough for its mint to strike at least a few coins in his name. The number certainly could not have been large as only one specimen is so far known to have come down to us, but it is sufficient to prove that the city did fall into the hands of Philadelphus, and that this must have taken place *previous* to the great battle in which he was defeated and eventually lost his life. His brother Philip made good his escape into Cilicia, from which he emerged not long afterwards to try conclusions once more with Eusebes.

433 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Antiochus XI to r. Fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ (to r.) ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ | ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ (to l.). Zeus enthroned to l., holds wreath-bearing Nike in outstretched r., rests l. on sceptre. The whole surrounded by laurel wreath. On l., outside inscription, ϡ | Α. Beneath throne, Δ.

Berlin, Plate XIII (published by Dr. Macdonald in the "Zeitschrift für Numismatik," 1912, vol. 29, Pl. v, 19).

This attribution, which would amplify if not correct certain statements of our classical sources, is not based on the mere interpretation of some complicated monogram. This latter form of historical "reconstruction" has most unfortunately been far too often attempted by

numismatists, particularly with Greek regal coinages, to the great satisfaction of the discoverer, but to the consequent detriment of the trustworthiness of the Science of Numismatics. If correctly and scientifically handled, there is no surer or more trustworthy aid to the history of these times than their coinages, but every sane historian rightly looks with suspicion on the "discoveries" made in the past by numismatists trusting in their ingenuity to convert monograms into mint names, and thereupon rewriting history. Lenormant was the arch type of this kind of archaeological numismatist, and his followers have been many. By this the implication is not intended to be conveyed that no monogram on a Greek regal coin *ever* denotes a mint, but that all monograms, apparently easy of solution into the name of some city, should be looked on with the greatest suspicion until by means of style, fabric, dies, types, and every device known to numismatists, their solution has been definitely proved. There are few such monograms in the Seleucid series.

In the present case the attribution of no. 433 to the mint at Antioch rests primarily on consideration of style and fabric. Comparing the coin with the Antiochene issues of Seleucus VI, Antiochus X, and Demetrius III, as shown on our plates, the striking resemblance between them all is unmistakable. In fact the obverses of nos. 433 and 422 are so similar that a second look must be taken to make sure that the dies are not identical. It is most probable that the same die cutter was used for both. Closely following the system of control at Antioch, our coin displays a supervisor's monogram in the field on the left between the inscription and the laurel wreath. Accompanying this monogram is the usual A of the coinages of Antiochus VII and all the later rulers from Grypus on. Under the throne is ⏃ the monogram of an official who for years has been the most active subordinate in our mint. Finally, as in the preceding issues of Antiochus X and the succeeding issues of Demetrius III and Philip, Antiochus XI is here given two

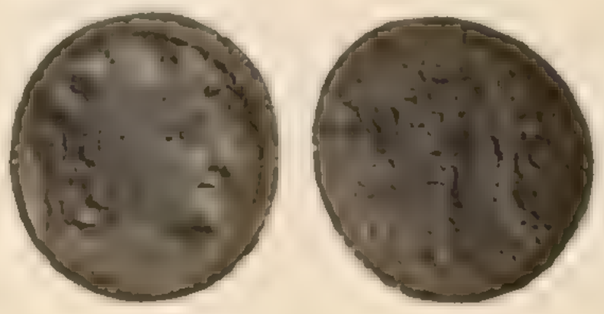


fig. 32

titles. Taken together, these evidences of the community of origin of the coinages of the above kings would seem to be clearly substantiated, and Antioch will have henceforth to be considered as one of the mints

of the short reign of Antiochus XI Philadelphus. Very probably the bronze coin published by Babelon in the Paris catalogue, Plate xxvii, 12, was also struck at Antioch. Its style and fabric resembles those of other bronze pieces issued here about this time, its reverse type — that of Athene with helmet, spear and shield — has often been employed at this mint, its issuing magistrate ⚓ is the same as on the silver tetradrachm.

Before leaving the rare coinage of Antiochus XI it must be emphasized that only the silver tetradrachm and the bronze piece here described can be attributed to Antioch. The comparatively common tetradrachms (a specimen of which is to be found on Pl. xxvii, no. 11, of the Paris catalogue) which have often been assigned to this Antiochus belong, as we shall soon see, to a later ruler. The rare but well known tetradrachm with the accolated busts of Antiochus XI and his brother Philip (Paris, Pl. xxvii, 13) is of sufficiently different style to make it absolutely impossible to assign it to our mint.

DEMETRIUS III. Reigned in Antioch circa 92-89 B. C.

The exact space of time that Demetrius reigned in Antioch is somewhat doubtful. From the confused and incomplete chronicles of these times we gather that in and around 92 B. C. the allied forces of the two brothers, Demetrius and Philip, temporarily drove Antiochus X out of all Syria. In 89 B. C. we find Philip and Demetrius themselves at war, with Demetrius besieging his brother in Beroea. The latter now called in to his assistance the Arab chieftain Azizos as well as Mithridates a Parthian governor. Demetrius in turn was surrounded by these superior forces, his water supply cut off, and eventually forced to surrender. Appian definitely states that the Antiochenes in his army were allowed to return home unmolested and that Philip, shortly afterwards, entered Antioch and was received with joy by the populace. It is evident, therefore, that Demetrius ruled in Antioch until the disaster that overtook him before Beroea sometime before 88 B. C.

In the year from October 92 to October 91 B. C. the municipality of Antioch commenced striking a series of bronze coins of two denominations inscribed ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ and dated according to the Seleucid Era.[43] Evidently Demetrius had been forced to grant

[43] G. Macdonald, Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection, Vol. III, pp. 143–144.

the city a certain amount of local autonomy in order to attach her the more to his side in case of a possible struggle with his brother. Whereas Seleucia had always been noted for her steadfast loyalty to the interests of the legitimate Seleucid ruler, Antioch seems ever to have favored the one not actually ruling within her walls. Again this was probably the case, for when Philip did eventually triumph, our historian takes the pains to state that he was joyfully received by the people of Antioch. The series of autonomous bronze coins just mentioned continues to appear alongside of the royal issues until towards the close of the reign in Antioch of Tigranes. The last date we possess is ΜΣ or 73/72 B. C.

The royal issues of Demetrius for his Syrian capital are the following.

434 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Demetrius III to r. Fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ (to r.) ΦΙΛΟΜΗΤΟΡΟΣ | ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ (to l.). Zeus, naked to waist, enthroned to l., holds wreath-bearing Nike in outstretched r., rests l. on sceptre. The whole surrounded by laurel wreath. On l., outside inscription, ω | Π | Α. Beneath throne, ⏃.

Petrograd, no. 761.

435 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar, but portrait is bearded.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ | ΘΕΟΥ (to r.) ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ | ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (to l.). Zeus seated as on previous coin. On l., outside inscription, Ν | Α. Beneath throne, ⏃.

Paris, no. 1570, **Plate XIII**; Coll. L. Walcher de Molthein, no. 3078, **Plate XIII**.

Here the supervising magistrates are ω | Π and Ν, with, in each case, the usual Α in accompaniment, as well as the ⏃ of previous reigns. For the bronze issues we have two pieces described in the Paris collection (nos. 1574 and 1575) which seem to belong here. They have for their obverse type the head of Demetrius as on no. 435, for reverse a standing Hermes; while one of the monograms found on them is the ⏃ of the tetradrachms. The titles given to Demetrius on these particular bronzes are identical with those found on the tetradrachm no. 435.

PHILIP PHILADELPHUS.

Reigned in Antioch, 89-83 B. C.

a. With N.

436 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Philip to r. Fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ (to r.) ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ | ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ (to l.). Zeus, naked to waist, seated to l. on throne, holds wreath-bearing Nike in outstretched r., rests l. on sceptre. The whole in laurel wreath. On l., outside inscription, N | A. Beneath throne, Δ.

J. Ward Coll., no. 803, **Plate XIII** (formerly Bunbury Sale (II), no. 591).

b. With Φ and letter in field.

437 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Φ | A. Beneath throne, Δ.

London, nos. 1, 2, and 3; Sotheby, O'Hagan Coll., 1908, no. 700, **Plate XIII**; Newell (two specimens); Paris, nos. 1546 (Pl. xxvii, 14) and 1547; Petrograd, no. 746; Roll. & Feuard. Sale, June, 1913, no. 338 (Pl. xi).

438 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Φ | A. On l., between figure and inscription, Δ. Beneath throne, Δ.

London, no. 8.

439 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Φ | A. On l., between figure and inscription, H. Beneath throne, Δ.

London, no. 9; Jameson Coll., no. 1762 (Pl. xc); Newell.

440 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Φ | A. On l., between figure and inscription Θ. Beneath throne, Δ.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 2; Petrograd, no. 757.

441 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Φ | A. On l., between figure and inscription, N. Beneath throne, ⏃.

London, no. 10, **Plate XIII**; Paris, nos. 1554 (Pl. xxvii, 16) and 1557; Petrograd, nos. 753 and 754; Newell; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 3.

442 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Φ | A. On l., between figure and inscription, O. Beneath throne, ⏃.

Paris, no. 1558.

443 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Φ | A. On l., between figure and inscription, Φ. Beneath throne, ⏃.

London, no. 11; Paris, no. 1559.

c. Similar, but with letter in exergue.

444 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Φ | A. Beneath throne, ⏃. In exergue, Δ.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 8.

445 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Φ | A. Beneath throne, ⏃. In exergue, Λ.

Petrograd, no. 748.

446 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Φ | A. Beneath throne, ⏃. In exergue, M.

Newell.

447 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Φ | A. Beneath throne, ⏃. In exergue, N.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 9; London, no. 15; Paris, no. 1555.

448 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Φ | A. Beneath throne, ⏃. In exergue, ΤΓ.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 10; Egger Sale, Jan., 1908, no. 663, Plate XIII; Petrograd, no. 755; London, no. 16; Newell; Sotheby, Guzman Coll., 1914, no. 120 (Pl. vii).

449 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Φ | A. Beneath throne, ⏃. In exergue, Σ.

Paris, no. 1548; London, no. 4; Newell.

450 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Φ | A. Beneath throne, ⏃. In exergue, Τ.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 11; Petrograd, no. 747; Newell.

d. With letters in field and exergue.

451 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Φ | A. On l., between figure and inscription, A. Beneath throne, ⏃. In exergue, Η.

London, no. 12; Paris, no. 1560; Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 12.

452 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Φ | A. On l., between figure and inscription, 🜁. Beneath throne, ⏃. In exergue, Η.

London, no. 13; Paris, no. 1561 (Pl. xxvii, 17); Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 6.

453 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., outside inscription, Φ | A. On l., between figure and inscription, I. Beneath throne, ⏃. In exergue, Θ.

London, no. 14.

e. Presence of Φ | A doubtful, monograms in field and exergue.

454 TETRADRACHM.

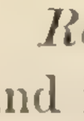
Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., between figure and inscription, Φ. Beneath throne, ⏃. In exergue, AT.

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 15.

455 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., between figure and inscription, . Beneath throne, ⏃. In exergue, .

Glasgow (Hunterian Coll.), no. 14.

456 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., between figure and inscription, . Beneath throne, ⏃.

Paris, no. 1552.

457 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., between figure and inscription, Ш or  | . Beneath throne, ⏃. In exergue, AN.

Paris, no. 1553; Coll. E. Rogers (Num. Chron., 4th Ser., 1912, Pl. xi, 9).

458 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., between figure and inscription, . Beneath throne, ⏃.

J. Ward Coll., no. 804, Plate XIII.

459 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., between figure and inscription, ΔH | O | M | ЄP. Beneath throne, ⏃. In exergue, ?.

Paris, no. 1562.

Owing to the lack of a sufficient number of coins, casts, or reproductions, the issues of Philip have not been worked out as thoroughly as the writer would have desired. Therefore only groups a, b, c, and d can with confidence be assigned to Antioch, because they seem to embody most of the characteristics peculiar to the Seleucid coinage struck in this city during the last few decades of that dynasty's rule. The coins of group 'e' are much more doubtfully assigned to our mint.

To take up these groups in detail, it can readily be appreciated that group 'a' must have followed closely upon the rare coins of Demetrius

III struck at Antioch. The mint supervisor N is continued from these to the coin struck in Philip's name, as is also his assistant ⚠, while the letter A is likewise to be seen in its accustomed position. Above all, style and fabric remain the same. N did not long retain his office but was shortly replaced by Φ who seems to have remained supervisor so long as this office continued to be designated on the coins,—in other words, throughout groups 'b,' 'c,' and 'd.' The style and execution, as well as the weight, rapidly deteriorates in the course of these issues. The flans on which the coins are struck now grow so small in diameter that the letters Φ | A are, more often than not, entirely off the coin, or, when they can be distinguished on the very edge of the piece, they appear so inextricably tangled up with the leaves of the surrounding laurel wreath that it is difficult to distinguish them. Particularly is this now the case, because through crude workmanship and the mechanical deterioration of the design, these letters have degenerated into something like ⊦ | A or ⊦ | ‖. By the time group 'e' is reached it seems probable that Φ | A has disappeared altogether. At least, the few specimens that the writer has been able to inspect, either have this part of the design entirely off the flan or show only a few meaningless lines which may have been intended for leaves. This, however, is a surmise only and we may really have to do with the letters Φ | A in their crudest and most degenerate form. Even though group 'e' does not show Φ | A it still remains probable that it was struck at Antioch as its style, though poorer and with a more stereotyped reverse, has still much in common with that of groups 'a'—'d.' Above all, the monogram ⚠ continues to occupy its old position beneath the throne of Zeus and would therefore seem to indicate that we have to do with an Antiochene issue.

Mention, at least, should here be made of another large and important series of tetradrachms bearing the name of Philip. This series is characterized by the monogram ⅄ or ⅄Β to be seen in the field, and the numerical letters Γ, Δ, H, BI, ΘI, K, KA, BK, KΔ, SK, IK, HK, ΘK in the exergue. These coins are all of a peculiar style which differs widely from that found on the remainder of Philip's issues. The portrait, too, is unlike that exhibited by the coins we have just been studying. The alphabetical numbers probably represent dates, for if they had been used as serial numbers to designate successive issues of coin, every one from A to ΘK would have been employed. This would not necessarily have been the case if the numbers denote years, regnal or otherwise.

Therefore, because only certain numbers are represented in the series in question,—although the actual coins of this series that have come down to us are comparatively common,—these numbers must be considered as representing dates. Now, if these are therefore accepted as being dates, either of regnal years or of some era yet to be determined, the coins which bear them cannot possibly have been struck at Antioch *at this time*, for Philip is known to have reigned here not longer than from circa 89 to 83 B. C.

The question of the true mint and date of this peculiar series is most interesting—but the solution is both complicated and lengthy and for that reason has here been deferred until a more propitious occasion. Besides, the present article is intended to deal only with Seleucid coins attributable to the Antiochene mint from the last years of Seleucus II to the transformation of Syria into a Roman province by Pompey in 64 B. C.

To return to the issues which we can feel reasonably sure were struck by Philip in Antioch, it is most noticeable that unlike the issues of all previous kings in this city there are absolutely no bronze coins of regal types to accompany the silver. This is, however, abundantly accounted for by the fact that, commencing with the two hundred and twenty-first year of the Seleucid Era (92/91 B. C.), a large series of autonomous bronze coins, composed of two denominations, appears at Antioch and continues until the two hundred and fortieth year (73/72 B. C.). The style and fabric exhibited by these latter pieces which, as the inscriptions they bear explicitly state, were struck by the Municipality of Antioch, resemble in the closest manner those of our tetradrachms bearing the name of King Philip. Thus they furnish an additional proof that Antioch must also have been the mint of the contemporaneous royal silver issues we have just been studying. These civic issues being plentiful, there was now evidently little need of striking bronze coins with royal types.[50]

To maintain his position at Antioch, Philip was forced to wage constant wars, first against his own brother, Demetrius III, then against Antiochus X who had escaped from or been sent back by the Parthians, later against Antiochus XII the son of Demetrius, and lastly against Tigranes the powerful king of Armenia whom the people of Syria, wearied at last with the endless fratricidal wars, called in to free them. Philip was driven from Syria and is supposed to have perished; Tigranes henceforth ruled at Antioch in his stead.

[50] See Macdonald, Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection, Glasgow, vol. iii, pages 143, 144.

TIGRANES I OF ARMENIA,

Ruled in Antioch 83-69 B. C.

Although, logically, the Antiochene issues of Tigranes fall into place between those of Philip and of Antiochus XIII they have nevertheless been omitted here because they have already been so carefully and satisfactorily handled by Dr. Macdonald[51] that nothing new could be added to his researches, and also because, while struck at Antioch and therefore partaking generally of the style and fabric of the Seleucid issues, they are yet the coinages of an alien king and our interests here are primarily centred only on those of the Seleucid princes.

A typical example of the series of tetradrachms struck by Tigranes during his rule in Antioch is given on Plate XIII (A).

ANTIOCHUS XIII, Ruled in Antioch circa 69-65 B. C.

We have still to consider the probable coinages at Antioch of the last of the Seleucid kings actually ruling in that city—Antiochus XIII, nicknamed Asiaticus. That he did strike coins seems to the writer probable almost beyond discussion. Antioch, the metropolis of Syria and one of the largest and most important cities of the East, had possessed an active mint for about two centuries. Her coinages had been both continuous and unusually prolific. Antiochus XIII was king by right of descent, by acknowledgement of the Syrians themselves (Appian, Syr. 49), and finally by solemn consent of Lucullus (Just. xl, 2, 3) who had recently forced Tigranes out of Syria. Syria was not definitely made a Roman province until the coming of Pompey and was therefore still an independent state and in a position to issue its own money. Why then have numismatists found it so difficult to satisfactorily assign any coins to the thirteenth Antiochus when everything would point to the fact that he must have issued such? The answer evidently is that numismatists have not made themselves sufficiently acquainted with the true sequence and style of preceding Antiochene issues and have therefore committed the unfortunate error of assigning to Antiochus XI the following coins which by style, fabric, and inscription can only belong to the time of Antiochus XIII.

[51] Num. Chron., Ser. IV, vol. ii, 1902.



fig. 33

460 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Diademed head of Antiochus XIII to r. in fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ (to r.) ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ (to l.). Zeus, naked to waist, seated to l. on throne, holds wreath-bearing Nike in outstretched r., rests l. on sceptre. The whole in laurel wreath. On l., in front of Zeus, ⋈.

Newell (fig. 33); Paris, no. 1538 (Pl. xxvii, 11); Rev. Edgar Rogers, Num. Chron., Ser. IV, vol. xii, 1912, p. 363, no. 32 (Pl. xi, 10); Egger Sale xli, 1912, no. 761 (Pl. xxi); Egger Sale xlv, 1913, no. 741 (Pl. xx).

461 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. On l., in front of Zeus, ⋈. Beneath throne, Ρ.

Newell, **Plate XIII**; Egger Sale xlv, 1913, no. 777 (Pl. xxi); Jameson Coll., no. 1760 (Pl. lxxxix).

We have already had occasion (page 117) to note that these coins cannot possibly, as some authorities have suggested, be assigned to Antiochus XI. The true Antiochene issue of that king is found in no. 433, Plate XIII. Our two coins (nos. 460 and 461) are of a much later style and fabric as shown most clearly by the low relief, poor drawing, closely packed letters, and the absence of the usual monogram and letter Α outside the inscription. In these respects our two coins are midway between the later issues of Philip Philadelphus (nos. 454-459) and the posthumous issues of that king characterized by the monograms ⅄Β and ⅄Γ. The true issues of Philip came to an end with his death in 83 B. C. The issues of Tigranes evidently commenced in and around that same year when the Armenian king had finally secured Antioch, and continued until his evacuation of Syria before the threatening advance of Lucullus. In a forthcoming number of the Numismatic Chronicle the writer will show that the above mentioned posthumous issues of Philip took place under Roman dominion or, in other words, after the constitution of Syria as a Roman province. The only possible occasion therefore, between these two groups of Philip

coins, to which our pieces with their Antiochus inscription could possibly be assigned is the reign of Antiochus XIII. This assignment is thoroughly corroborated by the style and fabric of our two tetradrachms. We should notice the same small flans, the rather poor character of the silver used, the very low relief, the flat, thin style of the portraiture, the clumsily made letters so characteristic of the later issues both contemporary and posthumous, which bear the name of Philip as well as those which bear the names and types of Tigranes. Like nos. 454-459 a monogram appears in the field immediately in front of Zeus, while the monogram and accompanying mintmark A, always placed on the left outside the inscription on the Antiochene issues of the Seleucid rulers from Grypus to the first years of Philip, are absent. Stylistically therefore our pieces come after rather than before the reign of Philip. Every detail of their technique is purely and only characteristic of the Antiochene coinages of this period. As our coins bear the name of Antiochus it is obvious that they can only be attributed to a king of that name. Their late style precludes their being assigned to Antiochus XI. Furthermore, to judge from the number of specimens that have come down to us, the original size of their issue must have been quite large, which fact would not at all harmonize with the very short period of time during which the eleventh Antiochus could possibly have held Antioch. Neither can they be given to Antiochus XII, first because his official titles were Dionysus Epiphanes Philopator Callinicus while the title appearing on our coin is Philadelphus; secondly because he only ruled in and around Damascus while the style and fabric of nos. 460 and 461 clearly show that these coins must have been struck in the mint of Antioch.

Antiochus XIII, according to Pauly-Wissova (the best available historical sketch of this prince based on a careful and critical analysis of the obscure and often erroneous statements of ancient historians) was the son of Antiochus X Eusebes and the Egyptian princess Cleopatra Selene. He spent his youth in Asia Minor (whence his nickname Asiaticus) until about 75 B. C. when he went to Rome accompanied by his younger brother. Cicero (Verr. IV, 27, 28, 30) mentions their sojourn in Rome and their experiences at the hands of the unscrupulous Verres when the brothers stopped over in Sicily on their way back to the East. After Tigranes had been forced to evacuate Antioch (69 B.C.) Antiochus, who was now a young man, put himself forward and was gladly received as ruler by the Syrians (Appian, Syr. 49). After Lu-

cullus had won the decisive battle near Tigranocerta (Oct. 6th, 69 B.C.) he confirmed Antiochus as king of Syria. His reign however was very troubled. While engaged in an unsuccessful campaign against the Arabs (Dio Cassius states, XXXVI, 19, 3, that in 67 B. C. the Antiochenes were fighting Arabs) the people of Antioch revolted. The uprising was suppressed but the ringleaders managed to escape to Cilicia where they put forward as rival king the son of Philip Philadelphus also called Philip. Azizos, the Arab chieftain, immediately declared for the latter but Antiochus secured the assistance of Sampsigeramus the rival chieftain of Emesa. In a very short time the Arab leaders had come to an understanding between themselves and together plotted to do away with both the Seleucid princes and divide Syria amongst themselves. In pursuance of this Antiochus was actually seized by Sampsigeramus. At this juncture Pompey, now commander-in-chief of the Roman armies in Asia, arrived (64 B. C.). To him Antiochus appealed for assistance and begged him to reinstate him in his kingdom. Pompey had other ideas and as the people themselves appeared very loath to have Antiochus back again (Just. XL, 2, 3) he decided to form Syria into a Roman province. Not long afterwards Antiochus XIII was murdered by the Arab chieftain Sampsigeramus.

The two tetradrachms, which we have seen can only be assigned to Antiochus XIII, are valuable historically as they afford us a definite record of that ruler's official title. Hitherto modern writers have concluded that Antiochus' title was probably Eusebes from the fact that Justin, Porphyry, and Appian have all confused him with his father Antiochus X surnamed Eusebes. This conclusion is perhaps well founded, but our coins show further that his principal[52] title was undoubtedly Philadelphus—assumed probably in honor of the brother with whom he undertook the eventful but, in the end, unsuccessful mission to Rome.

Antiochus XIII was the last of the Seleucid princes ruling in Syria—as Appian expressly states (b. c. V. 10, Syr. 70). With his coins we have also reached the end of the long, varied, and therefore unusually interesting series which bears the names, portraits, and types of such scions of the House of Seleucus, or base pretenders to that proud name, as held sway in their great capital at Antioch.

[52] Seleucid princes, ever since the reign of Antiochus IV, were given to the habit of assuming several titles. Antiochus XII boasted of no less than four.

RÉSUMÉ

COINAGE AND MINT.

In the preceding pages we have studied the coinage of our mint, ruler by ruler. A more general treatment of the coinage as a whole may not be out of place in order that we may secure a general perspective of the issues, that we may see how they connect the one with the other, and why they should be assigned to Antioch.

Under Antiochus III we have found a coinage of gold oktadrachms and staters, silver tetradrachms and drachms, which fall naturally into three series corresponding more or less closely to the three main phases of that ruler's life: (I) the early years of his reign, (II) the eastern expedition, (III) his Phoenician conquests and the war with Rome. Series I we found growing immediately out of the issues of Seleucus II and III and bound with them by the common monograms ⌘ and ⌘. The portrait of Antiochus is that of a young man, the time limit easily contained in the space of some seventeen years during which he grew from a youth of eighteen to a man of about thirty-five. The latter part of this series is made conspicuous by the sudden introduction of a fillet border decoration in the place of the older beaded border. Series II continues this same fillet decoration, the magistrate ⌘ is no longer active, but ⌘ is there to prove that Series II is but the continuation of Series I and therefore from the same mint, as Dr. Imhoof-Blumer has already pointed out. Attention should be called to the peculiar custom of placing the fillet border only on the tetradrachms, coins of smaller module, such as gold stater and silver drachm, still bearing the beaded border. The portrait of Antiochus on this series is that of a somewhat older man. There now follows Series III bearing the head of Antiochus III but with features showing advancing age. In style, however, these are but the continuance of the previous issues.

Under the son and successor of Antiochus III the coinage follows closely the style and fabric of the latter's third series and therefore undoubtedly was struck in one and the same mint.[53] We have already had occasion to observe that of all Antiochus III's many coinages the one here brought together is the largest, also the most consecutive in types

[53] The writer has only now become aware that Dr. Macdonald in his catalogue of the Hunterian Collection in Glasgow, vol. iii, p. 31, has already made this observation, and furthermore suggests that we should look for this common mint at Antioch. It certainly gives me great pleasure to make the discovery that our observations, arrived at separately, tally so exactly.

of portraiture — from the smooth-faced youth of the earliest coins of Series I, through the early manhood and middle age of Series I and II, to the features sharpened and seamed by arduous campaigns and the troubles of a particularly active and vicissitudinous life, as portrayed on his last issues. In a similar, though smaller, way the issues here studied of Seleucus IV are the largest and at the same time most homogeneous of his none too numerous coinages. Considering these points together, only Antioch, the capital and the commercial as well as political centre of the empire, can possibly be thought of as a location for the issuing mint.

This coinage of Seleucus IV merges easily into that of his successor Antiochus IV. On this we see not only the head of Antiochus himself but also that of his little son of like name, a mere child of not more than two years of age. The magistrate ⏃ serving under Seleucus IV as well as under Antiochus IV, is definite proof of the connection between the two issues. Towards the middle of Antiochus IV's reign the flans upon which his coins were struck show a tendency to grow broader and thinner, while various titles are added to his name. Introducing his last issue and closely conforming to it in style, fabric, and inscriptions, comes the interesting and special series with the Zeus Olympios and Apollo Kitharoedos types. The close connection between these coins and the famous celebrations held at Daphne is too obvious to be further insisted upon here. Because of this it will hardly be denied that the coins themselves could only have been struck at Antioch.

The ordinary coinage of Antiochus IV was followed by an exactly similar one issued in his son's name, many of the same magistrates officiating. Closely linked by the same monograms comes the coinage of Demetrius I who succeeded Antiochus V. In the seventh year of Demetrius' reign, or the one hundred and fifty-eighth of the Seleucid Era, a reform was made in the visible control of the coinage. Heretofore, as a rule, only one magistrate signed each reverse die, no matter how many such officials chanced to be in office at the same time. This is very neatly illustrated by our nos. 99, 100, and 101. The magistrates who signed these three coins were in office together, as can be judged by the scarcity of these varieties, the appearance on all three of the title Σωτήρος which, together with the three monograms, is carried on to the immediately succeeding issues. At this point comes the reorganization of the control, and, henceforth, we find on all the silver

coins of Demetrius a date reckoned according to the Seleucid Era, a controller 🜲 who signs every coin, and numerous subordinates, one of whom places his monogram on the reverse below that of the controller's.

Alexander I, on his issues, retains this system of dates as well as the supervising and subordinate magistrates. While the former are frequently changed, the latter often continue from reign to reign. This fact, backed by considerations of style and fabric, is of the greatest assistance when it comes to finally determining what is or is not to be considered an issue of our mint.

Demetrius II strikes coins of similar style and signed by many of the same magistrates as Alexander's issues, but as he held Antioch for only two years his Antiochene coinage naturally bear only the two dates ΖΞΡ and ΗΞΡ. Though driven out of the capital, Demetrius II still retained the major portion of his kingdom and continued to strike in his remaining mints. But here is to be noted the significant fact that his coins of the type, which for other reasons we would assign to Antioch, now cease. In other words, they are found only with the dates of the very two years during which our historical sources claim that he actually ruled in Antioch. This would seem to be proof positive that our deductions are soundly based and that Antioch really was the mint of our entire series. Furthermore, we gather from our historians that the king who followed Demetrius, namely Antiochus VI, held sway only in the Orontes valley, and so it is no surprise to find that his coinage consists only of pieces displaying the style and fabric which we have now come to associate with Antioch. The dates follow immediately upon those of his predecessor, while many of the magistratal monograms are common to both reigns.

Unfortunately the custom of dating the silver coinage at Antioch is finally dispensed with in the following reign,— that of Tryphon.

Antiochus VII, for his very large coinage, employs only one controller 🜃 until, in the last year of his reign, 🜃 retires and others take his place. During his term of office 🜃 was assisted by many subordinates, among whom were several who, in their turn, were accompanied by still lower officials. On one coin, therefore, we will find the controller's mark 🜃, his subordinate A or T, and, in addition, a series of other letters or monograms which must denote the names of lesser magistrates. Furthermore, on *all* these coins the letter A is constantly present, is always to be found beneath the controller's monogram,

and may, not improbably, denote the mint Antioch. I would not insist on this except for the fact that after the two following reigns of Demetrius II (2nd term), and Alexander II the A makes its reappearance, and is henceforth found on all the tetradrachms struck at our mint until the fall of the Seleucid kings and the accession of the Armenian Tigranes. Besides, this A is always found in the same place, namely beneath the monogram of the supervising magistrate. As it occurs in the reigns covering the years 138 to 129 B. C. and 121 to 83 B. C. its interpretation as a magistrate's initial is hardly possible unless we are willing to suppose that more than one official whose name commenced with this letter occupied the constant post of chief assistant to the controller. For though the supervisor was continually being changed throughout this length of time, the letter A is always found occupying its accustomed position beneath the latter's monogram. It therefore occurs unfailingly on all the coins which by style, fabric, sequence of type or magistratal monogram we would, under any circumstances, have assigned to Antioch.

From the time of Antiochus VII to the end of the dynasty the Antiochene mint was kept busy striking new coin for the rapidly alternating or changing rulers. As outlying provinces fell away in the general break-up of the kingdom, or as autonomy was granted (usually perforce of circumstances) to the various large cities of the land, nearly all of whom had in by-gone days been greater or lesser royal mints,—such as Seleucia on the Orontes, Tripolis, Sidon, Tyre, Ake-Ptolemais and others—Antioch became practically the sole remaining place in all the land where coins could still be struck in the name of that person who,—even for a short while,—could rightfully claim the once proud title of Seleucid king. When furthermore we find that the great majority of the coins bearing the portraits and names of Antiochus VIII, IX, Seleucus VI, Antiochus X, XI, Demetrius III, and Philip Philadelphus are all of one style, one fabric, one type, and show one uniform system of mint control, then it is clearly only to Antioch that these coinages can possibly be assigned. For, as stated above, it is only Antioch that at this time possessed a sufficiently large *royal* mint, was the only important commercial city directly under Seleucid authority, and, lastly, was the only city in which *all* these princes ruled at one time or another. Seeing then that this uniform coinage of the last seven kings could only have been struck at Antioch, and that the issues of the intervening rulers Demetrius II (2nd reign), Alexander II, Cleopatra and

the early series of Antiochus VIII form an unbroken bridge in style, fabric, and monograms between the latter and the issues of Antiochus VII back, we then become assured that this great and homogeneous coinage from the days of Seleucus II to the arrival of Tigranes must have been struck in the capital and metropolis of the Seleucid Empire, —Antioch on the Orontes.

Types. There is not room here to discuss in detail the numerous and important types which make the reverses of the Seleucid coinage of such greater value and interest than, for instance, the Ptolemaic with its everlasting eagles and cornucopiae. The types of gold, silver and bronze have been touched on in our text wherever they chanced to prove of particular interest and importance to our subject. For a more thorough and valuable treatment, the reader is referred to M. Babelon's introduction to the Paris catalogue 'Les rois de Syrie, d'Arménie et de Commagène.' A brief survey is all that is here necessary.

The very first type of all the Seleucid coinage was that of Zeus Olympios as borrowed from the coinage of Alexander the Great. Shortly afterwards, still in the reign of Seleucus I, the eagle which the god holds in his right hand was exchanged for a wreath-bearing Nike, thus making the type conform more closely to its prototype, the great chryselephantine statue of the god at Olympia. But during the long rule of the House of Seleucus many other types arose and enjoyed predominant popularity for a space of time. It was not until the fourth reign of Grypus in Antioch (circa 107-96 B. C.) that Zeus Olympios triumphs over his numerous rivals and remains the constant reverse type of the Antiochene tetradrachms until the coming of Tigranes. The struggle for popular favor had indeed been one of long duration and many vicissitudes. Displaced by Apollo, the patron god of the Seleucid family and the predominant type at the time our study commences, Zeus Olympios Nikephoros once more comes into favor in the reign of that brilliant but erratic man, Antiochus IV Epiphanes, and thenceforth vies with Tyche, Apollo, the Dioscuri, Athena, and Zeus Uranius for the honor of being chosen for the reverse type on the tetradrachms. But finally, as if in mockery, Zeus Olympios Nikephoros having graced the coinage of Seleucus I Nikator whose realm stretched from the Propontis across Asia Minor, Syria, Mesopotamia, Persia, to the distant plains of Central Asia and the broad rivers of Northern India, now for the last time lends dignity in its fallen state to a debased and ugly coinage struck by the degenerate and wrangling de-

scendants of the first Seleucus that now ruled only in a small province embracing little more than the valley of the Orontes. Tigranes put a temporary end to this coinage and introduced in its stead a type of purely local significance, but more worthy of the proud city of Antioch, still destined to remain, under Roman rule, the great and puissant mistress of the East.

DIES AND MONOGRAMS. Working with such material as has been at the writer's disposal on this side of the Atlantic, the dies at Antioch seem all to have been either adjusted or actually fixed in the position ↑↑ before striking. At least, among the silver and bronze coins examined in the original no other position has been discovered.

When the full material of the Seleucid issues at Antioch can be studied in casts or in the original it will undoubtedly be found that obverse dies were often employed for a considerable length of time. Working only from a few coins in the original, and depending on photographs and plates for the remainder, it has not always been possible to establish beyond a doubt the seeming identity of dies used continuously for successive issues. In a few instances, however, the fact that a certain obverse die has been used by various magistrates has been noted. Such use, incidentally, proves the writer's thesis that all monograms found on the Antiochene issues are personal in character and cannot be translated into city names as has so often and so disastrously been attempted in the past. Only the letter A, holding a regular and particular position on the reverses of the tetradrachms of Antiochus VII and on those from Antiochus VIII to the end of the dynasty, has any claim to pose as an indication of the mint.

There are instances throughout the coinage where certain monograms seem to have become slightly changed in form through constant use in successive issues but, none the less, probably belong to one and the same magistrate. Thus, to mention but a few, we have  under Demetrius II (1st reign, no. 199), , , and  under Demetrius II, Antiochus VI and Tryphon.  and seem also to be interchangeable. An intensive study of these monograms would be both instructive and interesting, but time as well as material are at present lacking. There are numerous gaps still to be filled as the writer's own experience would seem to show. In several instances where observation of a preceding and a following series would suggest the presence of a certain monogram, coins bearing these monograms have turned up before the completion of this paper to fill the gap and to prove that there

really was some systematic ordering in the officials signing the various issues. A combined study of both monograms and dies will eventually give us a more or less complete list of those yearly controllers and their assistants who seem to have varied in number under the different reigns. Under Demetrius there seem to have seldom been over three or four subordinates yearly, under Antiochus VI this number has risen to six and seven. Perhaps the number depended upon the exigencies of the times, the quantity of money to be issued, or possibly, under certain reigns, to the number of official positions that had to be dispensed as favors among persons who had helped a successful king to overthrow his predecessor.

DENOMINATIONS. The denominations struck at Antioch are more numerous and appear under the different reigns in more complete series, than at any other mint of the empire. In gold we have the oktadrachms (or quadruple staters) and staters; in silver we have tetradrachms, drachms, hemidrachms (or triobols), diobols and obols; in bronze we have what appear to be two denominations which at times are increased to three and, under Antiochus IV, to five or more. The subject of the bronze issues, through lack of enough actual specimens, has had to be merely touched upon in this paper and it is to be hoped that some one with better opportunities will carry it further. For these bronze coins have more varied types than the silver, and many more magistrate's letters, monograms and symbols which will undoubtedly assist in filling lacunae left by the silver.

Under the Seleucid sovereigns at Antioch the various denominations in the precious metals were always struck on the Attic standard. On the whole, the Antiochene standard of fineness and fullness of weight compares very favorably with the issues of other Greek states at this time. But, like the history of so many other coinages in the past, the Seleucid, too, gradually became of poorer and more stereotyped style, of lighter weight and more debased metal as the puppet kings in whose name it was struck grew weaker in power, ability, resources, and morals.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

SELEUCUS II. The bronze coinage that was issued in conjunction with our tetradrachm no. 1 is to be found in the comparatively common variety with obverse: Head of Athene to right in crested Corinthian helmet; reverse: Nike standing to left placing wreath on king's name, before her inverted anchor, behind her, ⌘ (Hunterian Coll., no. 24, there attributed to Seleucus I). This monogram is a characteristic one of the Antiochene mint at this time.

SELEUCUS III. Because of its strikingly close similarity in appearance and technique to our tetradrachm no. 3 (Plate I) we should undoubtedly also assign to the Antiochene mint for this reign the British Museum tetradrachm no. 5 illustrated as no. 7 on Plate vii of the London catalogue. At any rate a comparison of the obverse dies of these two coins would certainly lead one to suppose that the same artist had cut them, and if this is the case, then probably in the same mint.

A specimen of the contemporary bronze coinage of Seleucus III struck at Antioch will be found in nos. 6 and 7 (Plate vii, no. 8) of the British Museum Catalogue. These coins are identical in style with the immediately succeeding bronze issues of Antiochus III and, in addition, bear the characteristic monogram ⌘.

ANTIOCHUS III. In studying closely the details of the portrait appearing on the gold stater no. 19 (Plate II) it becomes evident that this coin should be transferred from Series II to Series I. The features not only are those of a young man (at the time of Series II Antiochus was over thirty-five years of age) but the actual details and style of the portrait approximate very closely to the one found on the obverse die of our no. 12, Plate I.

In conjunction with the two denominations of bronze coins described on page 8, there is a third size midway between. The types are identical with those of the largest size, namely: obverse, Laureated head of Antiochus III; reverse, Apollo seated. A specimen is given as no. 51, page 28 of the British Museum Catalogue.

DEMETRIUS II (First reign). The monogram in the exergue of no. 201 should be ⍓.

ANTIOCHUS VI. The reference to Plate IX for no. 258, page 67, should be disregarded; while no. 259 (London, no. 20) is represented under no. 259 on Plate IX.

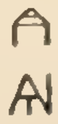
ANTIOCHUS VIII. A specimen of drachm no. 391 is reproduced under that number on Plate XI.

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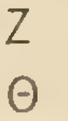
No.	Denomination	On left	In exergue	On right
		SELEUCUS II		
1	Tetradrachm			
2	"	"		
		SELEUCUS III		
3	Tetradrachm			
4	"	"		
5	"			
6	"			
		ANTIOCHUS III		
		Series I		
		Group a		
7	Tetradrachm	\|		
8	"	\|		
9	"			
		Group b		
10	Tetradrachm	\|		
11	"	\|		
12	"			
13	"			
14	"	" (variety)		
15	"	\|		
		Series II		
		Group a		
16	Stater			
17	Tetradrachm			M
18	"	"		
		Group b		
19	Stater			
20	Tetradrachm			
21	Drachm	"		
22	Tetradrachm			
23	Drachm	"		
24	Tetradrachm	TRIPOD		

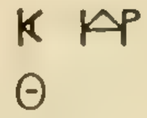
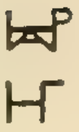
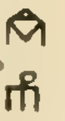
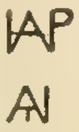
No.	Denomination	On left	In exergue	On right
		Series III		
25	Oktadrachm	ROSE		
26	Tetradrachm	BOW IN CASE		
27	"	" " "	AΣK	
28	"	" " "	ACK	
29	"	HORSE'S HEAD		
30	"	ANCHOR		
		SELEUCUS IV		
31	Tetradrachm	STAR		
32	"	FILLETED PALM BRANCH		
33	"	WREATH-BEARING NIKE		
34	"	FILLETED PALM BRANCH		
35	"	" " "		
36	Drachm	PALM BRANCH	"	
37	Tetradrachm	FILLETED PALM BRANCH	M	
38	"	" " "	Φ	
39	"	PALM BRANCH and WREATH		
40	"	FILLETED PALM BRANCH and APLUSTRE	"	
41	"	PALM BRANCH		
		ANTIOCHUS IV		
		Series I		
		Group a		
42	Tetradrachm	LYRE		
43	"		"	LYRE
44	"	TRIPOD	"	"
		Group b		
45	Tetradrachm	TRIPOD		
46	"	"		
47	"	"		
48	"	"		
49	"	"		
50	"	"		
51	"	"	B	
52	"	"	Δ	
53	"	"		
		Series II		
		Group a		
54	Tetradrachm			
55	"		IΣ	
56	"		—	

No.	Denomination	On left	In exergue	On right
		Group b		
57	Drachm	no monogram		
58	Bronze I	"	"	
59	" II	"	"	
60	" III	"	"	
61	" IV	"	"	
		Series III		
		Group a		
62	Stater		no monogram	
63	Tetradrachm	(Zeus type)	"	"
64	"	(Apollo type)	"	"
65	Hemidrachm		"	"
66	Diobol		"	"
		Group b		
67	Tetradrachm	⏃		
68	"	⏁		
69	"	⏄		
70	"	⏅		
71	"	⏆		
72	"	⏇		
73	"	M		
		ANTIOCHUS V		
74	Tetradrachm	⏃		
75	"	⏇		
76	"	⏈		
77	"	⏉		
77a	"			⏂
78	Drachm	no monogram		
		DEMETRIUS I		
		Series I		
		Group a		
79	Tetradrachm	⏃		
80	"	" (variety)		
81	"	⏇		
		Group b		
82	Tetradrachm	⏂		
83	"	⏃		
84	"			⏇
85	"			⏀

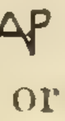
No.	Denomination	On left	In exergue	On right
		Group c		
86	Tetradrachm			
87	"	 or		
88	"			
89	"	no monogram		
90	"			
91	"			
92	"			
93	"	EY		
94	"			EI
		Series II		
		Group a		
95	Tetradrachm			
96	"			
97	"			
98	"			
		Group b		
99	Tetradrachm			
100	"			
101	"			
		Series III		
		Group a		
102	Tetradrachm	 \|		HNP
103	"	" \|		"
104	"	" \|		"
105	"	" \| MI		"
		Group b		
106	Tetradrachm	 \|		ΘNP
107	"	" \|		"
108	"	" \|		"
109	Drachm			  \| ΘNP
110	"			" \| "
		Group c		
111	Tetradrachm	\|		ΞP
112	"	" \|		"
113	"	" \| 		"
114	Drachm			  \| ΞP
115	"			" \| "
116	"			" \| "

No.	Denomination	On left	In exergue	On right
		Group d (1st issue)		
117	Tetradrachm	𐌀 \| 𐌀	AΞP	
118	"	" \| 𐌀𐌉	"	
119	"	" \| 𐌇𐌐	"	
120	Drachm		𐌀 𐌀 \| AΞP	
121	"		" 𐌀𐌉 \| "	
122	"		" 𐌇𐌐 \| "	
		Group d (2nd issue)		
123	Tetradrachm	𐌀 \| MI	AΞP	
124	"	" \| 𐌂	"	
125	"	" \| 𐌅	"	
126	Drachm		𐌀 𐌂 \| AΞP	
127	"		" P \| "	
		Group e		
128	2½ Stater	𐌀 \| ΣA		BΞP
129	2 "	" \| 𐌀𐌉		"
130	Tetradrachm	" \| 𐌂	BΞP	
131	"	" \| 𐌌	"	
132	"	" \| 𐌑	"	
133	Drachm		𐌀 𐌌 \| BΞP	
134	"		" 𐌑 \| "	
		ALEXANDER I		
		Series I		
		Group a		
135	Tetradrachm	CORNUCOPIAE	ΓΞP 𐌑	
136	"	"	" 𐌕	
137	"	" and Θ	"	
138	Drachm	"	"	
139	"	"	" 𐌕	
140	"	" and 𐌂	"	
141	"	" and E	"	
		Group b		
142	Tetradrachm	ΓΡ, 𐌅	ΔΞP	
143	"	𐌂, "	"	
144	"	𐌕, "	"	
145	"	"	" 𐌂	
146	"	"	" 𐌕	
147	"	"	" 𐌐	
148	"	"	" 𐌓	
149	Drachm		"	
150	Tetradrachm	𐌅 \| 𐌐	"	

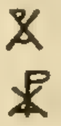
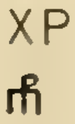
No.	Denomination	On left	In exergue	On right
		Group c		
151	Tetradrachm		ΕΞΡ 	
152	"	"	"	
153	"	"	" 	
154	"	CORNUCOPIAE	" 	
155	"		" 	
156	"		" 	
		Group d		
157	Tetradrachm		ΣΞΡ Ζ	
158	"	"	" 	
159	"		" "	
160	"	"	"	
161	"	"	" 	
		Group e		
162	Tetradrachm		ΙΞΡ (—)	
		Series II		
163	Stater	no monogram		
164	Tetradrachm		ΠΡΟ	
165	"			
166	"			
167	"			
168	"			
169	"			
170	"		Δ	
171	"		M	
171a	"		Σ	
171b	"		Σ	
		Series A		
172	Drachm			
173	"	"		
174	"	"		
175	"	"	Θ	
		Series B		
176	Drachm			
177	"		" 	
		Series C		
178	Drachm			
179	"			
180	"		" Θ	
181	"		" Σ	

No.	Denomination	On left	In exergue	On right
		Series D		
182	Drachm			
183	"		" A	
184	"		" 	
		Series E		
185	Drachm			
186	"			
187	"			
188	"		Δ	
189	Hemidrachm	CORNUCOPIAE		
190	"			
191	"			
192	"	Φ		
193	"	no monogram		
194	Diobol	" "		
		DEMETRIUS II (1st reign)		
		Group a		
195	Tetradrachm		ΖΞΡ	
196	"	"	"	
197	"	"	" Θ	
198	"	"	" 	
199	"	"	" 	
200	"	"	" 	
		Group b		
201	Tetradrachm	PALM BRANCH, 	ΖΞΡ 	
202	"	" " "	" 	
203	"	" " "	" ΙΑΡ	
204	"	" " "	" ΑΙ	
205	"	" " "	" 	
206	"	" " " ,	"	
		Group c		
207	Tetradrachm	PALM BRANCH, , Κ	ΗΞΡ	
208	"	" " "	"	
209	"	" " " Η	"	
209a	"	" " " 	"	
210	Drachm	,	ΗΞΡ	
211	"	"	"	
212	"	" Κ	"	
213	"	STAR "	—	
214	"	,	ΗΞΡ	
215	Hemidrachm	\|		

No.	Denomination	On left	In exergue	On right
		ANTIOCHUS VI		
		Group a		
216	Tetradrachm	ΗΞΡ		ΤΡΥ
217	"	"		ΤΡΥ \| 
218	"	"		" \|
219	"	"		" \|
220	"	THYRSOS, ΗΞΡ		" \| Κ
221	"	" "		" \|
222	Drachm	BUNCH OF GRAPES, Κ	ΗΞΡ	
223	"	" " "	"	
224	"	" " "	"	
225	"	" " "	"	
226	"	" " "	"	
227	"	" " "	"	
		Group b		
228	Tetradrachm	THYRSOS ΘΞΡ		ΤΡΥ \| ΙΠ \|
229	"	"		" \| \| ΣΤΑ
230	"	"		" \| or \| "
231	"	"		" \| \| "
232	"	"		" \| \| "
233	"	"		" \| \| "
234	"	"		" \| \| "
235	Drachm	BUNCH OF GRAPES	ΘΞΡ ΣΤΑ	
236	"		" "	
237	"		" "	
238	"		" "	
239	"		" "	
		Group c		
240	Tetradrachm	OP		ΤΡΥ \|  \| ΣΤΑ
241	"	"		" \| \| "
242	"	"		" \| \| "
243	"	"		" \| " \| —
244	"	"		" \| \| ΣΤΑ
245	"	"		" \| \| "
246	Drachm		ΟΡ ΣΤΑ	
247	"	or	" "	
248	"	or	" "	
249	"		" "	
250	"		" "	
		Group d		
251	Hemidrachm	no monogram		
252	"			Κ

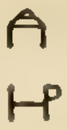
No.	Denomination	On left	In exergue	On right
253	Hemidrachm			
254	"			
255	"			ΣΤΑ
256	Diobol			"
		Group e		
257	Drachm			ΤΡΥ 
258	"			" or
259	"			"
260	"			"

TRYPHON

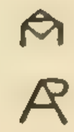
261	Tetradrachm		
262	"		
262a	"		
263	"	no monogram	
264	"		
265	Drachm		
265a	"		
266	"	ΧΡ	
267	"		
268	"	ΠΡ	
269	"		
270	"		
271	"		
272	"	Π	

ANTIOCHUS VII

Group a

273	Tetradrachm		 or 	
274	"	"		
275	"	"	ΑΙ	
276	"	"		
277	"	"		
278	"	"		
279	"	"	Η	
280	"	"	Λ	
281	"	"	Π	
282	"	"	Α	

Group b

283	Tetradrachm		Α	
284	"	"	"	
285	"	"	"	
286	"	"	"	ΦΙ

No.	Denomination	On left	In exergue	On right
287	Tetradrachm	Φ \| A		Λ
288	"	" "		Δ
289	"	" "		H
290	"	" "		O
291	"	" "		Σ
292	"	" "		Φ
		Group c		
293	Tetradrachm	Φ \| A, A		B
294	"	" \| ", "		E
295	"	" \| ", "		K
296	"	" \| ", T		A
297	"	" \| ", "		Λ
298	"	" \| ", O		Λ
299	"	" \| ", M		K
		Group d		
300	Drachm	Φ \| A		
301	"	"		A
302	"	" \| Al		
303	"	"		AR
304	"	" \| O		
305	"	"		O
306	"	" \| Π		
307	"	"		Π
308	"	" \| Φ		
309	"	"		Φ
310	"	[illegible] \| Φ		
		Group e		
311	Tetradrachm	[illegible] \| A		
312	Drachm	[illegible] \| Δ		
312a	"	[illegible] \| AR		
313	Tetradrachm	B \| A		
314	Drachm	A \| B		
315	Tetradrachm	Ξ \| A	[illegible]	
316	Drachm	Σ		
317	"	"		O
		DEMETRIUS II (2d reign)		
318	Tetradrachm	[illegible]		
319	"	[illegible] \| E		
320	"	Ξ	O (beneath throne)	
321	"	"	Δ " "	

No.	Denomination	On left	Beneath throne	On right
322	Drachm		ΞO (in exergue)	
323	"	Ξ	Δ	
324	"	no letters		
325	"	Δ	Ω	

ALEXANDER II

Group a

326	Tetradrachm	\|Σ\|	Δ	
327	"	"	STAR over Δ	
328	"	"	Σ	
329	"	"	STAR over Σ	
330	"	"	" " AI	
331	"	"	" " ⊛	

Group b

332	Tetradrachm	ΠΑΡ	Δ	
333	"	"	STAR over Δ	
334	"	"	" " Σ	
335	"	"	ΠΑΡ	
336	Drachm	" \| A		
337	Hemidrachm	ΠΑ (ΠΑΡ ?) \| Σ		
338	Diobol	no monogram or letter		

Group c

339	Tetradrachm	ΚΑΡ	Δ	
340	"	"	Σ	
341	"	"	AΦ (AI)	
342	Drachm	" \| Δ		
343	"	" \| Σ		
344	"	" \| AΦ		
345	"	" \| ΔI (or AΦ ?)		
346	Hemidrachm	", Δ		

Group d

347	Tetradrachm	Ξ	Δ	
348	"	"	Σ	
349	"	"	A	
350	Drachm	" \| Σ		
351	"	" \| AΦ		
352	Hemidrachm	" \| "		

Group e

353	Tetradrachm	⁂	Σ	
354	"	"	A	
355	"	"	AI	

No.	Denomination	On left	Beneath throne	On right	
		Group f			
356	Drachm	⍋ \| AΦ			
357	"	" \| A			
		Group g			
358	Stater	no monogram or letters			

CLEOPATRA AND ANTIOCHUS VIII

359	Tetradrachm	IE	A		
360	"	"	Δ		
361	"	"	A		

ANTIOCHUS VIII (1st reign)

No.	Denomination	On left	In exergue	On right	
		Group a			
362	Tetradrachm	IE \| Θ			
363	"	" \| ⋿			
364	"	" \| ⋈			
		Group b			
365	Tetradrachm	IE \| A		A	
366	"	" "		A	
367	"	" "		N	
368	"	" "		O	
369	"	" "		P	
370	"	" "	K	A	
371	"	" "	"	A	
372	"	" "	"	P	
373	"	" "	"	Φ	
374	"	" "	N	N	
375	"	" "	P	P	
376	"	" "	Δ		
376a	"	" "	P		
377	"	" "	Φ		
378	"	" "	Π		
379	Drachm	IE			
380	"	(I)E			

ANTIOCHUS IX (1st reign)

381	Tetradrachm	⋈ \| A	
382	"	" "	A
383	"	" "	Δ
384	"	" "	N
385	"	" "	O

ANTIOCHUS IX (2d reign)

386	Tetradrachm	⋈ \| A	Γ

No.	Denomination	On left	Beneath throne	On right
		ANTIOCHUS VIII (3d reign)		
387	Tetradrachm	☧ \| A		Γ
388	"	" "		Δ
389	"	" "		K
390	"	" "		Ξ
391	Drachm	" \| Γ		
392	"	" \| N		
393	Hemidrachm	" \| Γ		
394	"	" \| N		
395	Diobol	" \| A		
		ANTIOCHUS IX (3d reign)		
396	Tetradrachm	☧ \| A		O
397	"	" "		P
398	"	" "		⋦
399	"	" "		KY
400	"	" "		☧
401	"	" ", ☧		
402	"	" "		Δ
403	"	" ", ⏃		
404	Drachm	" \| И		
		ANTIOCHUS VIII (4th reign)		
405	Tetradrachm	⋿ \| A		⏃ (☧)
406	"	" "		A
407	"	" "		⊓
408	"	" "		⋔
409	Drachm	" "		
410	"	" \| Γ		
411	"	" \| Δ		
412	"	" \| P		
413	Hemidrachm	" \| A		
		ANTIOCHUS IX (4th reign)		
414	Tetradrachm	⋿ \| A		⏃ (☧)
415	"	" ", H		"
416	"	" ", ⊓		"
417	"	" "		⊓
418	"	" "		N
419	Drachm	⋿ \| ⊓		
420	Hemidrachm	"		

No.	Denomination	On left	Beneath throne	On right
		SELEUCUS VI		
		Group a		
421	Tetradrachm	A \| ⊓ \| A	⏃	
422	"	" " "	A	
423	"	" " "	N	
		Group b		
424	Tetradrachm	⊱ \| A	C	
425	"	" "	"	
426	Drachm	" "		C
427	"	" ", C		
428	Hemidrachm	⊱, C		
		ANTIOCHUS X		
		Group a		
429	Tetradrachm	⊠ \| A	⏃	
		Group b		
430	Tetradrachm	⋚ \| A	⏃	
431	Drachm	" "		
432	Hemidrachm	" "		
		ANTIOCHUS XI		
433	Tetradrachm	⟅ \| A	⏃	
		DEMETRIUS III		
434	Tetradrachm	ω \| ⊓ \| A	⏃	
435	"	N \| A	"	
		PHILIP		
		Group a		
436.	Tetradrachm	N \| A	⏃	
		Group b		
437	Tetradrachm	Φ \| A	⏃	
438	"	" ", Δ	"	
439	"	" ", H	"	
440	"	" ", Θ	"	
441	"	" ", N	"	
442	"	" ", O	"	
443	"	" ", Φ	"	
		Group c		

No.	Denomination	On left	In exergue	Beneath throne	On right
444	Tetradrachm	Φ \| A	Δ	⏃	
445	"	" "	Λ	"	
446	"	" "	M	"	
447	"	" "	N	"	

No.	Denomination	On left	In exergue	Beneath throne	On right
448	Tetradrachm	Φ \| A	Π	⏃	
449	"	" "	Σ	"	
450	"	" "	T	"	
		Group d			
451	Tetradrachm	Φ \| A, A	H	⏃	
452	"	" ", 🜁	"	"	
453	"	" ", I	Θ	"	
		Group e			
454	Tetradrachm	Φ \| A (?), Φ	AT	⏃	
455	"	" "(?), ⊠	⊤⌐	"	
456	"	" "(?), ⋔		"	
457	"	" "(?), ω \| ⅄	AN	"	
458	"	" "(?), ⊠		"	
459	"	ΔH \| O \| M \| ЄP	(?)	"	
		ANTIOCHUS XIII			
460	Tetradrachm	⋈			
461	"	"			P



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SELEUCUS II (1), SELEUCUS III (3-4), ANTIOCHUS III (7-18)



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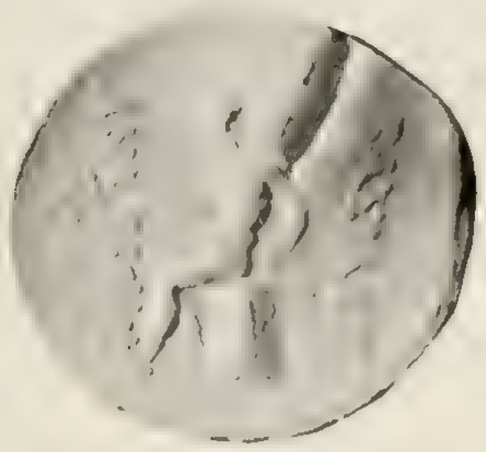






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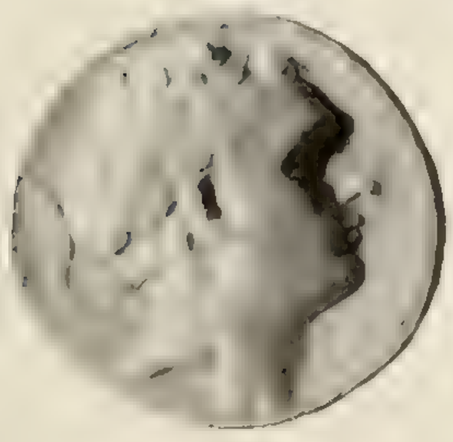


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ANTIOCHUS III (19-30), SELEUCUS IV (31-35)



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SELEUCUS IV (37-40), ANTIOCHUS IV (42-44, 54-55), ANTIOCHUS V (45-52)



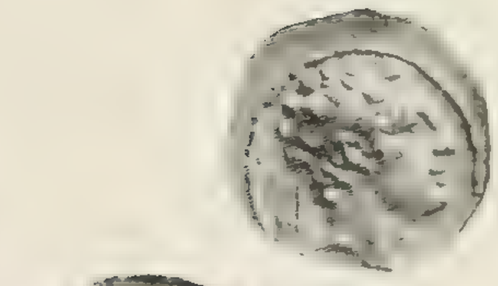
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ANTIOCHUS IV (56-70), ANTIOCHUS V (74 77)



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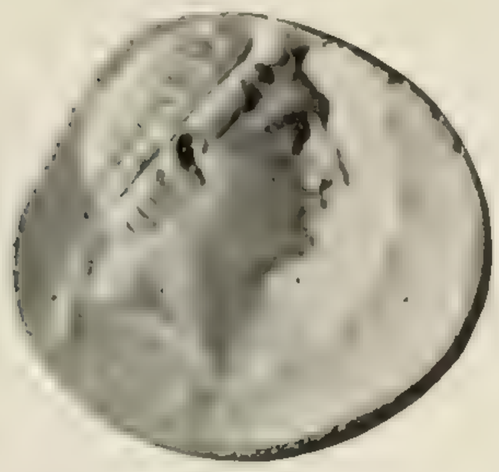


92



DEMETRIUS I

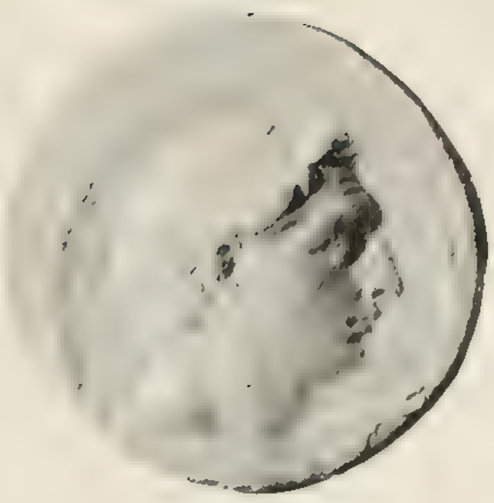
Absolute Beginner



93



94



96



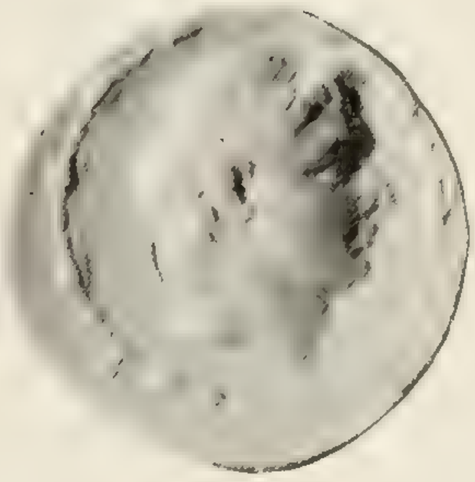
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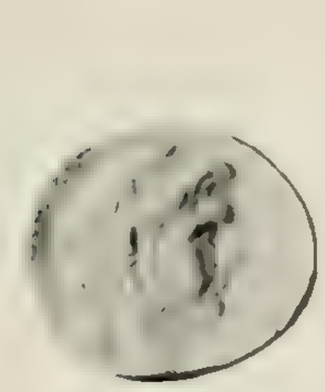


124

125



DEMETRIUS I



109



122



128



126



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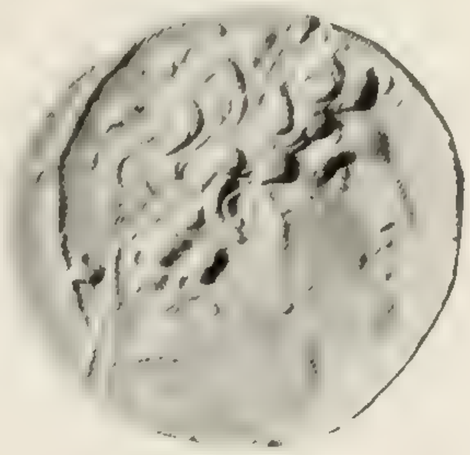






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DEMETRIUS I (109-130), ALEXANDER I (135-192).



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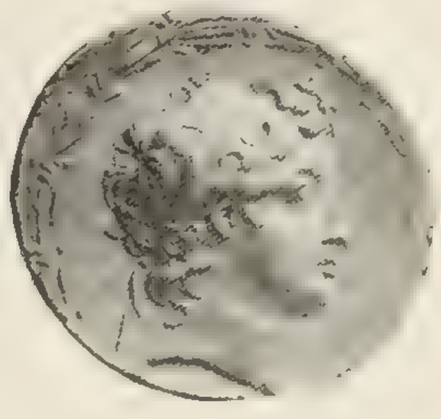
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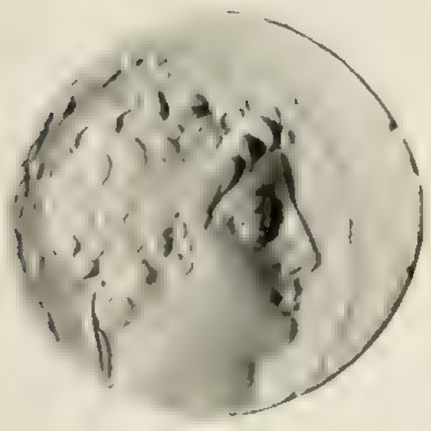
202





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232



ALEXANDER I (165-170), DEMETRIUS II (198-215), ANTIOCHUS VI (216-232).



243



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222



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255



259



267



















261





262





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283





287

ANTIOCHUS VI (222-259), TRYPHON (261-267), ANTIOCHUS VII (273-287)



311





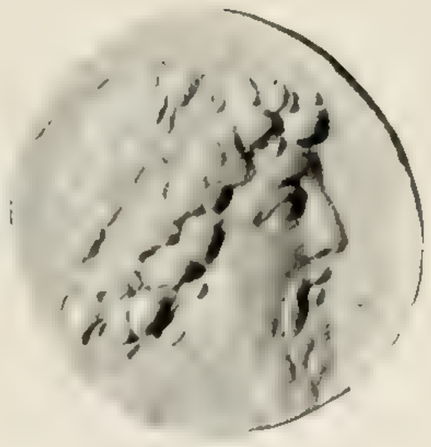
315





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353





351

ANTIOCHUS VII (304-315), DEMETRIUS II (320-323), ALEXANDER II (329-353).



359



360



362



365



371



376



382



386



388



390



391



392



393

CLEOPATRA AND ANTIOCHUS VIII (359-360), ANTIOCHUS VIII, first reign (362-376), ANTIOCHUS IX, first reign (382), ANTIOCHUS IX, second reign (386), ANTIOCHUS VIII, third reign (388-393)




396




404




405




407




414




417




421




424





410 419 420








415

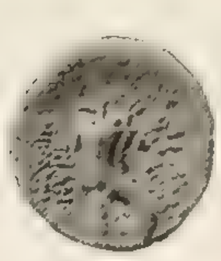



418




422



426 428

ANTIOCHUS IX, Third reign (396-404), ANTIOCHUS VIII, Fourth reign (405-410),
ANTIOCHUS IX, Fourth reign (414-420), SELEUCUS VI (421-428).



429





431







430





433





435(a)





435(b)





436





437



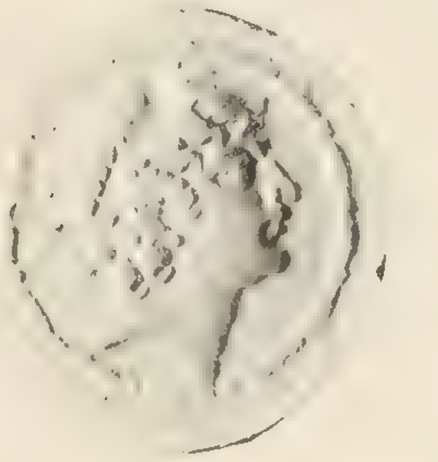


441





448





458



A







461

ANTIOCHUS X (429-431), ANTIOCHUS XI (433), DEMETRIUS III (435a-435b), PHILIP (436-458), TIGRANES (A), ANTIOCHUS XIII (461).



Jos Lesher

PRIVATE SILVER COINS ISSUED IN THE UNITED STATES

The Leshers or Referendum Pieces

By FARRAN ZERBE

Octagonal silver pieces dated 1900 and 1901 made by Joseph Lesher of Victor, Colorado, for commercial use, and classed as coins by the maker, have been given the name of LESHERS. As a late private issue of silver for exchange purposes, not depending upon necessity or demand; the idea and product of an advocate of free coinage of silver; issued in defiance of government statute; and for a time performing in a limited way the service of money in central Colorado, these coins contribute an extraordinary and interesting addition to American numismatics.

The entire issue is believed not to have exceeded three thousand pieces. Different types, sizes and imprints compose twelve varieties, to which may be added minor varieties due to slight variations in detail. Although the issue is recent, all are now scarce and in demand. No modern series, of which I know, has developed more persistent inquiry for facts and specimens by the few collectors interested in securing information and acquiring new varieties. The neighborhood of their production and the localities where they were issued have been repeatedly canvassed in the past ten years, but comparatively few specimens in proportion to reasonable expectations have been obtained or located. The record of those in specialized collections and appearing in numismatic sale catalogues for the last decade, aggregate less than one hundred; and the only quantity known to exist is under two hundred pieces accumulated up to 1905 and (quietly) held since then. Thus we have evidence of the rapidity with which an issue, even when of good proportions, may disappear, and it is the more notable, because in this instance, loss results if the pieces are converted into bullion.

Effort to obtain information for a numismatic record of LESHERS has not been left to the present. It has been in process to a greater or less degree for some time, but it is only by bringing together bits of information acquired by several individual collectors that a connected story is provided. Letters of inquiry to Mr. Lesher received no answer. When he was interviewed personally he claimed to have preserved no

records, and in many instances his memory serves only for approximate answers to direct questions. However there is little numismatically essential to be added to the facts which have been brought together and confirmed by the present writer.

The first published numismatic notice in regard to this series that has come to my attention was by Lyman H. Low in cataloguing two specimens for the H. G. Brown collection sale in 1904. Mr. Low referred to them thus: "Probably but little thought of to-day, but I judge a few years hence will be among the rarities sought for." It seems apropos to record that Mr. Low here scored as prophet, for while the series is still little known and yet to be edited, the very specimens Mr. Low mentioned would be worth to-day five or six times the price they brought in 1904.

A brief reference was made to "referendum souvenir trading pieces" in my notes to The Numismatist, May, 1905. The only extended numismatic reference to the series is contained in the article by E. H. Adams published in The Numismatist, August, 1911. Mr. Adams, who bases his article on material supplied by Judson Brenner, writes in introduction: "It is curious that so little information can be obtained in regard to a coinage that took place in the United States not more than eleven years ago, yet nevertheless the operations of Joseph Lesher, who issued the odd octagonal silver pieces bearing his name at Victor, Colorado, in 1900, are shrouded in almost complete obscurity." He describes five varieties, all there were then known to him.

I and others who were interested in an effort to secure more detailed knowledge, addressed letters of inquiry to Mr. Lesher and some of those who were associated with him. No replies being received we concluded that all were either dead or untraceable. In 1914, however, I chanced to meet Charles E. Briggs, an active collector of Lisbon, Iowa, who was particularly interested in LESHERS. He told me of a recent call on Mr. Lesher at his home in Victor and of the result of his search for specimens and information.

Victor, the home of the LESHERS, is in the heart of the Cripple Creek gold mining section of Colorado, a few hours ride from Colorado Springs. On my next visit to that section in 1914, I spent a few pleasant hours with Joseph Lesher and his wife. I found him an affable, well-preserved old gentleman, who told me he was born in the vicinity of Toledo, Ohio, and was about eighty years old; that he came to Colorado in its pioneer days, and after a residence of some years he returned

to Ohio and engaged in the livery business in Toledo for over ten years; then after a few years of farming in the vicinity, he returned to Victor about twenty-eight years previous to my visit. He has since resided there and engaged during his active years in mining and real estate.

He referred with surprise and satisfaction to the visits he had had from collectors, and to the many mail inquiries regarding his "referendums." He had not expected this interest from numismatists and he showed delight when I told him I was seeking information from which to make an accurate and permanent record. He looks back upon the production of his "referendums" not as anything novel, but simply as one might consider any ordinary article developed by bringing into material form an idea for which there seemed a profitable market. He had no thought of any future particular interest or he would have kept records and been better prepared to give information.

All the pieces are stamped REFERENDUM, and Mr. Lesher speaks of them by that name, and calls them pieces of silver of convenient size and value, shaped to be distinguished from government coins, showing their quality and price, guaranteed to be redeemed by the issuer, and referred to the people for use or rejection as a medium of exchange. Colorado's pronounced endorsement of the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, which Mr. Lesher advocated in the national campaigns of 1896 and 1900, was the seed from which grew his idea for a silver coin issue as a private enterprise. He believed the people of Colorado and other parts of the country wanted and would use more silver dollars if they were supplied.

The first issues, dated 1900, contain one ounce of "coin silver" and are of the novel denomination of $1.25. It is said the plan was to have merchants pay them out at $1.00 and receive them back at $1.25 in exchange for merchandise. However, I found no evidence or practice confirming this, and the plan appears on its face as impractical. While Mr. Lesher does not confirm it, it is reasonable to believe that there may have been some particular purpose for making the value $1.25 other than to have them of one ounce composition and valued in proportion to relative cost and profit.

Dies for the first variety were made by Frank Hurd of Denver; all the other dies were made by Herman Otto. I had a pleasant call with Mr. Otto at his Denver studio. He is a native of Germany and an artist with brush and chisel as well as a designer and die cutter. Dur-

ing his residence in England years ago he worked on dies for the British government. He said the Lesher dies were made under instructions as to detail, and that he had little opportunity for using his judgment for best effects. He recalled some dies breaking and his making new ones to replace them. He had no record of the number of dies made but believed those I described included all the varieties.

The most interested collectors of LESHERS are E. B. Morgan, Esq., president of the Colorado State Historical Society; C. W. Cowell, and H. O. Mann, all of Denver; Judson Brenner, Youngstown, Ohio; C. E. Briggs, Lisbon, Iowa, and the writer. The quantity accumulator is Jean Maunovry, now of Rochester, New York, who was for some years a resident of Denver and interested in mining claims in the Cripple Creek district. Mr. Maunovry says he purchased from one person a lot of about one hundred in 1905, and several at different times from banks, curio shops and individuals. The series being of local interest, the Denver collectors have been active in their quest for varieties; Mr. Brenner took up the trail soon after the pieces were issued; and Mr. Briggs has been particularly active in seeking specimens. If they were to be had Mr. Briggs should now have a good supply, for in addition to several visits to the Cripple Creek section he has advertised for LESHERS in the newspapers of that vicinity, and has sent circulars offering to purchase to the addresses of mail buyers which he received from Mr. Lesher, but has secured only a few specimens.

To all of these gentlemen I wish to acknowledge indebtedness for information which they have given me, and for the use of their specimens for comparison and illustration. It is notable that a complete collection is yet to be brought together. The Brenner, Briggs and Zerbe collections, the most complete as yet, each has two varieties not possessed by either of the others, and four different collections would have to be drawn upon to bring together all known varieties. This emphasizes the rarity of some of the varieties, since for more than ten years completeness has been the aim of all the six collectors mentioned.

All the pieces have provision made for numbering them. They were numbered by hand, each character on a separate punch not always uniform, thus producing numbers irregular in alignment and depths. Some have a period after the number, but it is not on all. Mr. Lesher says a regular system of numbering was not maintained, and the numbers cannot be accepted as a guide to the relation of one series to another or as to the number produced either in respect to varieties or total issue.

All the pieces are octagonal and with plain edge. According to Mr. Lesher they are composed of silver .950 fine with copper alloy, this fineness more than making good the claim of quality "coin silver" stamped upon them. They were struck by various metal stampers in Denver.

In the following descriptions of all known varieties the absence or misuse of punctuation marks in the inscription will be noted, but in most instances no reference will be made except by the illustrations to various dots, lines and scrolls used as space ornaments or dividers.

1900 ISSUES

All are 35 millimeters across center, stamped 1 OZ COIN SILVER and with PRICE $1.25.





1. **First type, 1900.** Obverse: JOS LESHERS REFERENDUM SOUVENIR. in upper hemicircle; below, in six lines, One oz of Coin | ›Silver‹ | Price 1.25 | M.F.G.D VICTOR | ›COLO.‹ | 1900

Reverse: A COMMODITY | WILL GIVE | IN | EXCHANGE | CURENCY COIN | › OR ‹ | MERCHANDISE | AT FACE VALUE | NO in nine lines.

One hundred struck and numbered consecutively from 1 to 100. These were widely distributed due to mail inquiries following newspaper notices, and from the number located these are about fourth in rarity. The dies were seized by the government and production stopped.

Considerable newspaper comment followed the initial production of the pieces. One item, dated Victor, November 13, 1900, reads: "Joseph Lesher, a Colorado pioneer and silver mine owner, has procured a die, laid in a supply of bullion, and manufactured several silver coins, each containing one ounce of pure silver. He calls his coins 'Referendum Dollars' because they are to be referred to the people for acceptance or rejection.

"Mr. Lesher proposes to demonstrate that the 'intrinsic value' theory is a delusion and a snare. His silver at the present quotation

costs sixty-five cents per ounce, the expense of coining is fifteen cents, eighty cents in all, but he values the dollars at $1.25 and intends to keep them above par. Although he is confident that the silver alone is really worth $1.29 an ounce, he admits that other people may be prejudiced. Therefore he promises to pay $1.25 in United States money on demand for each 'referendum' dollar. In order to avoid any entanglements with the Government, Mr. Lesher makes his dollars eight-sided."

While this does not exactly agree with statements made in later years by Mr. Lesher, it is perhaps as nearly a correct report as could be made of an experimental plan based on visionary theory.

Not many days elapsed after the production of the first Leshers before their producer had a call from Government officers. He now tells amusedly that on his compliance with their request to see the dies "they pulled out a little sack into which they put the dies and walked away, and I never saw the dies again." The officers claimed that the pieces had the function of coin and were therefore contrary to law. Lesher considered the interference of the Government unwarranted and appealed to Senator Teller who, according to Lesher, brought the matter to the attention of the Secretary of the Treasury. The latter, after consideration, agreed that on condition of certain changes in the inscription there would be no further interference on the part of the Government.

The following newspaper item appeared under date of November 23, 1900: "Joseph Lesher who recently made and issued one hundred silver souvenirs, which he called 'Referendum dollars,' says he has assurances from the United States District Attorney that his scheme is not illegal, and he has ordered a new die from which 10,000 will be struck off immediately. The silver will cost him $6,500 and the making $1,500. He will sell the coins for $12,500 and redeem them on demand for the same amount. The new coins will bear the name of a Victor grocery man, who agrees to redeem them in merchandise or money."

The pieces referred to are known as the Bumstead type. A. B. Bumstead, the name of a Victor merchant who issued and redeemed them, is engraved in the die. Dies for this and the balance of the series are by Otto. They are well cut and arranged, and all have a narrow struck up flat frame, not always uniform, with a beaded border.



2. **Bumstead Type — First Reverse.** Obverse: An ideal mountain mining scene occupies upper half of field; in two lines at top divided by the central mountain peak PIKES–PEAK | SILVER MINE; on lower half • A COMMODITY • | » WILL GIVE « | • IN EXCHANGE • | MERCHANDISE | –⁂AT⁂– | A. B. BUMSTEAD | N°. in seven lines.

Reverse: JOS. LESHERS REFERENDUM SOUVENIR in upper five-eighths of circle near edge; balanced in center of upper half is a devise from the seal of the State of Colorado including its motto NIL SINE NUMINE (Nothing without God) which separates 1. OZ. COIN; below, » •SILVER• « | PRICE 1.25. | M'F'D. VICTOR | COLO. | » •1900• « in five lines.

These are found numbered up to about 600, which was probably the number struck. But few with this reverse have been located, and the type appears to be about third in rarity. The dies are still held by Mr. Lesher, and the obverse die is chipped on the edge.

This variety is distinguished from No. 3 by scrolls on the reverse, ornamenting the field at sides of the State seal device, and a line or dash above COLO. Mr. Lesher is uncertain, but thinks that the reverse without scrolls was used first. However, the fact that I have not found any with scrolls numbered higher than 600, while all without scrolls are numbered between 600 and 1,000, and also No. 4 which has the reverse without scrolls is numbered still higher, indicates that the die with scrolls was used first as here classed.



3. **Bumstead Type — Second Reverse.** Same as No. 2 excepting that there are no scrolls in field at sides of the State seal device, or line above COLO.

Those noted are numbered between 600 and 1,000. See note following No. 2. The die, now rusted, is owned by a collector. This is the most common variety of the entire series and is classed sixth in rarity.

It is not known how many of either Bumstead varieties were struck. Mr. Lesher says Bumstead sold about 700 and was called upon to redeem only 3 pieces for cash, and all eventually disappeared from use. I have found them numbered as high as 988. It is presumed that 1,000 were struck, and while all are dated 1900 they were made and used as late as any of the series. It is surprising that so many pieces with a cash value of $1.25 each, should almost completely disappear within a few years in a small town like Victor. But two known specimens were left in the town in 1914, both framed and on exhibition and valued by their owners at $10.00 each.



4. **Bank Type.** Obverse: Upper half same as No. 2; lower half, * A COMMODITY * | WILL GIVE MERCHANDISE OR CASH | • AT • ANY • BANK • | No. in four lines; a blank field, the size and position of which suggests that provision was made for special imprint in addition to the number; at bottom, in curved line, * AT BULLION VALUE *

Reverse: Same as No. 3.

The die is now owned by a collector. Mr. Lesher says but five pieces, die trials, were struck and the bank idea was abandoned. In proposing their redemption at any bank in merchandise or cash was inviting trouble as well as Government interference at a time when the scheme in general was going nicely. It has not been learned what kind of "merchandise" banks were expected to give. Of this, the rarest type of the series, three have been located: Briggs, No. 1563, Brenner, No. 1620 and Zerbe, No. 1631. These unrelated numbers when only five were struck is unexplained and indicative of the lack of system that, I am led to think, was associated with the entire product. The 1631 is the highest number known to me in the entire Lesher series. This closes the series dated 1900 and of the value of $1.25.

It is presumed there was more or less criticism and interference by Government representatives and together with the success of the Bumstead distribution suggested the obtaining of protection against imitators, for succeeding issues. We see from the inscription on the next issue that the pieces were both patented and copyrighted, Lesher thereby considering himself licensed to make them and safe from further interference by the Government. This was a mistaken idea, for one may obtain a patent or copyright, and yet the article so protected may be prohibited if it is contrary to law.

1901 ISSUES

Weight, size and price reduced. All are 32 millimeters; weight, 412½ grains (the weight of a standard dollar), price $1.00. They have a blank field for business imprint. These imprints are made by hand-punches in Gothic style characters, for the most part in two lines.





5. Imprint Type. Obverse: Mining scene, etc., as on No. 2, below in four lines IN THE PEOPLE WE TRUST • | * A COMMODITY * | WILL GIVE IN EXCHANGE | MERCHANDISE AT, a blank space for imprint; at bottom, Nº with line for number.

Reverse: JOS • LESHERS • REFERENDUM • SILVER • SOUVENIR • MEDAL in three-quarter circle at top, State seal device as on No. 2 divides PRICE $1.00. with U. S. | PATENT at left and Nº 62,695. at right; below in six lines, TRADE MARK REG. U. S. PAT. OFF. | Nº. 36,192. APR. 9. 1901. | DESIGN PAT. APR. 16. 1901. | ➢ M'F'D. ➣ | VICTOR COLO | • 1901 •

Without business imprint. They are found with and without number. Mr. Cowell has one without number. Mr. Brenner No. 1, and Mr. Briggs No. 1022; others, all numbered below 100, have appeared in sales. Classed fourth in rarity. The obverse die is owned by a collector; the reverse die has not been located and is believed to have been destroyed. It will be noted that MEDAL has been added to the name, and while the Colorado motto, *Nil Sine Numine*, is continued, it is NOW IN THE PEOPLE WE TRUST, according to the added superscription.

Mr. Lesher had a quantity made for stock and does not remember what disposition was made of the remainder. Boyd Park, a jeweler of Denver at the time, who was Lesher's distributing agent for several months, is said to have had an interest in this remainder and it is supposed that they were reduced to bullion; however, this is not certain, but should any quantity lot of Leshers come to light later they would probably be of this variety (No. 5) or with Boyd Park imprint (No. 10). Denver people remember seeing quantities, hundreds they say, heaped in Park's store window. It is my impression that a quantity does or did exist for some time after they were either withdrawn from public sale, or a re-striking was considered. In 1914 a Colorado man said he could get a quantity for me if I would pay the price. I was surprised and asked him how many he could obtain. He replied, "As many as you will want, yes, hundreds." I agreed to purchase, and at once started to try and locate the dies for this type. All the other dies known had been previously examined and I knew there could be no re-strikes from them without distinguishing marks. Lesher said these dies (No. 5) had been left with Frank Hurd who was to strike the next lot in case any more were wanted. Hurd, however, was not called upon to strike any more. Lesher was lax in keeping in touch with Hurd, whose business was later sold out and his shop equipment dispersed. Since then Lesher had been unable to trace him. A search extending over about two weeks was rewarded by finding and obtaining the obverse die and planchet punch among discarded metal at a novelty works. The reverse die was not found. When I later called upon the man who was to supply a quantity, he said the man he expected to get them from was a "peculiar fellow" and he could not "do business" with him now. I have been after that quantity lot at different times since, but neither a specimen nor any information to lead to one has resulted, excepting the lot held by Mr. Maunovry. This hoard may be the one my enthusiastic would-be supplier knew of but was unable to secure.



6. Same as No. 5, but stamped — J. M. SLUSHER | CRIPPLE CREEK, COLO

J. M. Slusher was a Cripple Creek grocer, now deceased. Lesher says he had less than five hundred. They are known numbered between 49 and 248, inclusive. They appear to be about the second commonest variety and are classed about fifth in rarity.

7. Same as No. 5, stamped — SAM COHEN | VICTOR, COLO

Mr. Lesher says Cohen was a Victor jeweler and did not have many — "a few small lots at different times." Only three located, Briggs, No. 429 (double imprint, first imprint upside down), Brenner, No. 406, and Mann, No. 428. Considered second rarest imprint.

8. Same as No. 5, stamped — D. W. KLEIN & CO. | PUEBLO, COLO

During our conversation in 1914, Mr. Klein told me his firm was engaged in the retail liquor business and that he was an old friend of Mr. Lesher and experimented with the coins on that account. He had three hundred, paid Lesher 85 cents apiece for them, used them in change and trade at $1.00, and only one ever came back for cash redemption. He had not kept a specimen, and all had disappeared, where or how he did not know. During a visit to Pueblo in 1905 I located but one, No. 1071, at a pawnshop, and which I obtained. On a later visit an industrious search brought me another, No. 1051, worn smooth except for imprint. These are the only two of record.

9. Same as No. 5, stamped — GEO. MULLEN | VICTOR, COLO.

Mr. Lesher says Mullen was a shoemaker and only 100 pieces were stamped for him. Considered one of the rarest; but three specimens located, Mr. Morgan's, without number, Mr. Mann's, No. 1511, and Zerbe's, No. 1504.



10. Same as No. 5, stamped — BOYD PARK | DENVER, COLO.

This imprint differs from the preceding in that it is in smaller characters. Park was a Denver jeweler and distributing agent for Lesher, who says Park sold between 500 and 1000; if so, a good portion of them were probably without imprint for I have found nothing to indicate

that more than 200 were stamped. Excepting an unnumbered specimen in the Zerbe collection, all known are numbered between 500 and 700.

11. Same as No. 5, stamped — W. C. ALEXANDER | JEWELER | SALIDA, COLO.

The second A in Salida is an inverted V.

This is undoubtedly the rarest imprint and was unknown to collectors until 1918. The only specimen located is owned by Mr. Cowell and bears the number 8. The imprint differs from others in that it is in three lines, very thin characters and lightly struck. It was Mr. Cowell's impression that the business card was engraved, but recent information from Mr. Alexander, who is still in business in Salida is that he "obtained from Joseph Lesher, Victor, Colo., fifty of the Referendum Dollars in March, 1902, paying forty dollars for them; all of them were received stamped to my order as the one described, and numbered from 1 to 50. Have none on hand and do not know where they are located."



12. Same as No. 5, engraved — GOODSPEEDS & CO. | 26 PIKES PEAK AVE

This imprint is engraved, not stamped as are all the preceding. On account of its being engraved its admittance to the series as a variety is based on the fact that the issue was contemporaneous with the others of the same type. Goodspeeds & Co. were jewelers of Colorado Springs and experimented with Leshers by engraving a few, expecting later to have some stamped. None, however, are known to have been stamped. But one specimen is on record, No. 1015 in the Briggs' collection.

This closes the record of all varieties known. Others said to have purchased Leshers for trade use were C. W. Thomas, jeweler, Florence, Colo., and two clothiers, Lesher says probably at Canon City and Grand Junction, Colo. All these three are said to have been supplied in blank and it is not known if any were imprinted by them. Efforts to locate Thomas or to identify the clothiers were unsuccessful.

Coins with imprint space blank were supplied to any one requesting them. Imprint stamps were at the merchant's expense. None of the stamps have been located, and Lesher did not know what became of them. Considering how other material was found it is probable that if they exist they have been rusted beyond further use. With increasing interest in the series, which is to be expected from its deserved place in American numismatics, since blanks exist, caution should be exercised against engraved or otherwise forged imprints.

Mr. Lesher says about 3500, including all types, were struck. Allowing for some believed to have been melted, the distribution was probably about 3000 pieces. He says he was never asked to redeem any. The few pieces he wanted to keep, including No. 1 of the first type, have either been sold at fancy prices in recent years or, as he says, "got away when I wasn't looking."

An advertising card which was mailed out as late as 1903, reads:

THE FAMOUS VICTOR

REFERENDUM SILVER DOLLARS

are now used by the following
named persons as a medium
of exchange in their business.
As a local medium of exchange
they are a success.

SAM COHEN, exclusive agent, VICTOR, COLO.
J. W. SLUSHER " CRIPPLE CREEK.
BOYD PARK " DENVER, COLO.
C. W. THOMAS " FLORENCE, COLO.
D. W. KLEIN " PUEBLO, COLO.

(Reverse)

It is well known that these coins have a history. I am now threatened next time Congress meets that they will try to enact a law by which they will attempt to stop me making them. I am fair and impartial, and am willing to submit the question to the Courts, Public Opinion and the Press, whether or not they can do that as I have a patent or license for seven years from the Government to make them.

(Signed) JOS. LESHER,
Patentee.

While the Government probably gave Lesher cause to stamp his later products MEDALS, his literature refers to them as coins and mediums of exchange and with a spirit defiant against any interference.

Mr. Maunovry says "The Referendums were accepted as a dollar in Cripple Creek, Victor, Colorado City and Colorado Springs, and even in Denver by some banks in a speculative way. I bought several from banks." They also had limited circulation in Pueblo, but at some places their only use was as trade premiums or as items for sale as souvenirs.

In case an attempt is made to restrike any of these pieces, the chipped and rusted condition of the dies as well as certain other marks would identify these pieces at once from the originals. That Mr. Lesher stands to redeem the pieces, as per their stamped contract, makes his indifference as to the present location of the dies indefensible, and he should deem himself fortunate that he has not been imposed upon by falsely-made restrikes.

Lesher says he discontinued having more struck after enjoying a profitable market and after his interest declined. Considering the cost of dies ($60.00 a set); silver, average price 62½ cents per ounce; striking, 10 to 15 cents each; punches, patent, etc., it does not appear that the scheme could have proved a financial success.

As a referendum coiner, Higley of Connecticut, with his coppers VALUE ME AS YOU PLEASE, outdistanced Lesher both in principle and liberality, and in point of time by more than a century. The LESHERS as a private coin issue, having been used as a circulating medium at a time when the government not only fulfilled all requirements but prohibited private coining, is extraordinary if not unique — its nearest companion as a private silver coin issue since the organization of our mint is the "Sprinkle Dollar" of an earlier period and in undeveloped territory, which will be taken up later.

So long as metal shall endure in the form of coin or medal and there are collectors to prize them, Joseph Lesher, Victor, Colorado, and his "referendums" will be remembered; and in the annals of Colorado history he will trail after Clark, Gruber, Conway and Parsons, not in the same class by any means, but relatively, as a private coiner of that State.

THE SPRINKLE DOLLAR

Most American numismatists are somewhat familiar with the story of a silver piece known as the "Sprinkle Dollar," while persistent inquiries on the part of the writer have contributed to keeping the story alive in recent years.

Back in my embryo collector days when the effort to acquire every date of the copper cent was sufficiently absorbing for me not to know or care of the numismatic realms that lay beyond, a business man of the central west wrote to me for information about a silver piece which had been "knocking around" his desk for a number of years. He had forgotten where it came from and had never taken the trouble to inquire about it. He described the piece as about dollar size, an owl pictured on one side, a six-pointed star on the reverse. In later years I had reason to identify this piece as a "Sprinkle Dollar," but from whom or whence the inquiry had come I had forgotten, but knew that my reply had been without any personal interest in the piece. One day, about fifteen years ago, in assorting a lot of old letters I found the owl-star piece inquiry and was in consequence much elated. I hoped that the piece might yet be obtained for editing even if it could not be purchased. Disappointment came in reply to my letter — the piece had disappeared and could not be located. I kept in correspondence with the man and did not give up hope of obtaining it until the day I received a letter stating that he had just discovered that his sons, months previously, had used "the old silver thing that Dad don't want" for a bull's-eye in their rifle target and that it had been shot to bits.

This is the one numismatic "bull's-eye" I have regretted, for I do not doubt that it was a "Sprinkle Dollar," and for which I would now gladly trade the set of copper cents that held my early interest.

To many people the "Sprinkle Dollar" is a fairy-tale or myth, having its foundation in a newspaper article published in 1895 which, so far as I know, is the earliest published reference to it. This article was published in the American Journal of Numismatics, January, 1896, and the Editor's note prefacing it is the only numismatic comment that has come to my notice. The account in the Journal is as follows:

"We find in the Boston Transcript a cutting from the Wheeling (W. Va.) Register, published a few weeks ago, giving an account of some curious pieces which appear to have escaped the notice of American collectors, although the writer calls them 'the famous Sprinkle

Dollars.' The person who put them into circulation seems to have had a private silver mine, somewhere in the northeastern part of Kentucky, near the Ohio and West Virginia line, the product of which he used as money, much in the way that the well-known coppers with the device of an axe, etc., were used by Higley in Connecticut more than a century ago." The Register says:

> Not long ago a man living in Grayson, Carter County, Ky., received in payment for a horse sold to an old farmer, near the Lewis County line, $46, among which were three of the famous 'Sprinkle Dollars' of the early '30s. It has been more than twenty years since any of these peculiar coins have been found in this section and the production of these will recall a queer character who flourished in the early part of the century, Josiah Sprinkle, who lived in one of the roughest sections of Lewis County. One day he appeared in Washington, the county seat, with a buckskin pouch full of silver dollars of his own make. In every respect they appeared the equal of the national coin. The weight was more and the quality and ring of the metal were all that could be asked
>
> The inscriptions on the coins were rudely outlined, and no attempt was made at imitation of the legal coin. Rudely outlined on one side was an owl, while a six cornered star showed with more accuracy upon the other. The coins were considerably larger than the regulation article, and thicker as well. Upon various occasions Sprinkle afterwards visited the town, and spent them more and more freely. At one time he volunteered the fact that he had a silver mine in the hills, but no one ever succeeded in inducing the old man to reveal his secret.
>
> Finally the government agents came on to investigate, Sprinkle was arrested and brought into court, but the dollars were proved to be pure silver, without alloy, worth, in fact, a trifle more than a dollar each, and after an exciting trial he reached down in a cavernous pocket and drew out a bag of fifty of the coins and promptly paid his attorney in the presence of the astonished officials. Sprinkle was never afterwards bothered, and continued until his death to make the dollars, how and where no one ever knew.

The Numismatist, November 1895, published a similar article, credited to the Washington Post, but made no comment in reference to it. This article contains some additional details of description and is herewith reproduced:

> I saw by the papers the other day where three of the famous 'Sprinkle Dollars' had shown up, said F. D. Strowbridge of Peoria, Ill.
>
> Do you know what the 'Sprinkle Dollars' were? No.
>
> Well, Josiah Sprinkle, the man in question, lived in one of the roughest sections of Lewis County, Ky. Washington, the county seat of Mason, was then a thriving town. One day Sprinkle, then an old man, appeared in Washington with a buckskin pouch full of silver dollars of his own make.

In every respect they appeared the equal of the national coin. The weight was more than at present and the quality and ring all that could be asked for. He spent them freely and everybody accepted them on the assurance of Sprinkle that they were alright, except that they were not made by the United States mint. Upon being asked where he got his silver, he replied, 'Oh! it don't matter. There is plenty of it left.' The inscriptions on the coins were rudely outlined, and in no wise was an attempt made in imitating the national coin. On one side of the coin was an owl, and on the other a six pointed star. The edges were smooth. The coins were considerably larger and thicker than the United States coin. When Sprinkle came to town he spent the dollars of his own make.

At one time he volunteered the information that he had a silver mine in the west, but the old man refused to tell any one where it was located. Finally the government agents heard of the matter and came on to investigate. Sprinkle was arrested and brought into court, but the dollars were proven to be pure silver, without alloy, worth, in fact, a trifle more that $1 each. After an exciting trial he was acquitted. When the verdict was announced Sprinkle reached down in his pockets and paid his attorney in the presence of the astonished officials. Sprinkle was never afterwards bothered, and continued to make the dollars until the time of his death. He died suddenly and carried the secret of his silver mine with him. This was in the early thirties and it has been twenty years since a Sprinkle dollar has been found.

The phraseology of the two newspaper articles reproduced are sufficiently alike to indicate a common origin. Mr. Strowbridge, as quoted by the Washington Post, by his detail of description "edges were smooth," "thicker," etc., indicates he was familiar with the piece.

Parts of the newspapers' tale may be questioned, for it is doubtful if a privately produced coin, if not used for imposition, would at that time (1830) had Government attention.

The Kentucky counties named are in the northeastern part of the state—Mason joins Lewis on the west, and both have the Ohio state line for their northern boundary; Carter joins the southeastern part of Lewis and extends eastward towards the West Virginia line. Washington, Mason County, is now given a population of about 500.

About 1905 a reference to "Sprinkle Dollar" was brought to my attention in a book "Stamp Hunting" by Lewis Robie, published in Chicago in 1898. Robie was a travelling salesman who called on the drug trade in the middle west, and was known as "Doc" by the trade. He was a collector and dealer in proprietary revenue stamps, was well known to the stamp trade of his day and is particularly remembered for many personal references in his book. The book is written in dialogue; on page 70 is found:

Your speaking of stamps made that way, reminds me of the old 'Sprinkle' dollar, a specimen of which I have kept as a curiosity, although I do not collect coins. Do you know what I mean?

No Doc., I don't think I do.

Well they were called the 'Sprinkle' dollars from the name given them by the maker, Josiah Sprinkle, who once owned a silver mine in the West. One day, along in the thirties, he appeared in Washington, his old home, then a thriving town near Peoria, with a buckskin pouch full of silver dollars made by his own hand. They were not counterfeits, but had on one side the stamp of an owl, and on the other side a six pointed star. They were pure silver, weighed more than the regular dollar, and really worth more than one hundred cents. He had no difficulty in passing his coin, but the government found it out one day and caused his arrest for counterfeiting. He was set free, however, as his money in no way imitated Uncle Sam's and besides, it was worth more.

I never heard of that story before, and I should think, Doc., you had a rare coin there.

Yes, it is. A coin man offered me twenty five dollars for it.

I tried to locate Robie by way of his publishers; my letter was returned, written on the bottom — "Present address unknown to us. He has been dead for some time." Later inquiry in Chicago, where he resided, failed to locate his family or any trace of the "dollar." Robie is said to have carried a piece of this description and recited the story as quoted in his book. His story, evidently, was based on the much published newspaper article, he confusing Washington, Kentucky, with a town of the same name located near Peoria, Illinois.

H. G. Brown, for years a popular business man of Spokane, Washington, later of Portland, Oregon, part of whose notable numismatic collection was sold in 1904, always considered an *owl* his trade-mark. During his more active days the question of price never prevented him from acquiring an antique or curio that pictured an owl, or a coin that he desired. He knew the story of the "Sprinkle Dollar" but never succeeded in locating one.

"Sprinkle Dollars" do not appear to be of record in Kentucky state history. An inquiry to the Kentucky State Historical Society, Frankfort, brought the following reply, June 22, 1917:

Your letter in regard to the 'Sprinkle Dollars' received. I have inquired of the Treasurer of the Commonwealth and others, including the oldest bankers of the state, concerning Josiah Sprinkle and the 'Sprinkle Dollars' that you mention, but there is no knowledge of either the dollars or the maker of them.

Lewis County was organized in 1808. At an early day there was in that county and others adjoining the tradition of the 'Swift Silver Mine.' The rich silver mine

has never been located in the mountains of Kentucky, but the Indians hold the tradition that they helped Swift in what is now known as the Josh Bell County to make silver money, and that he stored quantities of it in different places in the Kentucky mountains. Swift had many confederates, perhaps Josiah Sprinkle was one of them.

Can find in our histories nothing concerning him. Kentucky is said to contain in different counties — gold, silver, iron and many kinds of minerals, but not in paying quantities, it seems.

The Kentucky Historical Society was organized at Frankfort in 1836; its existence has not been continuous, there being several periods of inactivity, the present well established and industrious organization dates from 1896 from which date it has been under the direction of Mrs. Jennie C. Morton, Regent, from whom the foregoing information comes.

That a silver piece conforming to the repeated description has existed, there seems no doubt, but as to whether it was associated with Kentucky or a man by the name of Sprinkle is yet to be acceptably established, but the Kentucky Indian tradition of the Swift silver mine and silver money, and what has been published of the "Sprinkle Dollar" indicates that Kentucky or its border neighbors produced and prized something in silver out of the ordinary, which was used for money. The trail of the "Sprinkle Dollar," yet unfinished, directs us to "Swift's Money."

SWIFT'S MONEY

The effort to obtain information relating to "Sprinkle Dollars," as referred to under that subject, brought to my attention historical references to "Swift's Money" and in seeking the aid of the Kentucky Historical Society, the regent writes:

> You are not aware of what a work it would be to write all the important paragraphs in the History of Kentucky concerning 'Swift's Silver Mines' with which it is presumed Josiah Sprinkle had somewhat to do — as he operated in that part of the state where these mines are said to be located.
>
> Some days past a gentleman from Wolf County, Ky., who lives nearby the wonderful 'melting-pot' used by Swift and the Indians in the making of silver money in early days, said he would write me a description of it. These traditions are known in the mountains — but the silver mines those pioneers in that region are said to have gotten silver from and made money — are yet unknown to the people there.
>
> Lewis County is of the Eastern Ky. mountain counties. In Greenup County, nearby, are the remains of what is believed to be an extinct crater. The depression is curious and the soil around is said to bear wonderful stones of all sizes and colors.

I have from time to time been written to for information concerning the 'Swift Silver Mines,' but as yet can only give the tradition as 'handed down' intelligence. Was offered once a handsome sum if I would visit the regions of a lost 'Silver King' and make some discoveries there — but I decline to visit the Ky. mountains either as a missionary or a seeker after buried silver. But the quest at my desk is interesting. If I can secure information of the Sprinkle dollar will let you know.

Reviewing histories of Kentucky at the Congressional Library the following pertinent references in Collin's History of Kentucky were noted, and for a transcription of which indebtedness is acknowledged to Hon. William A. Ashbrook, Chairman House Coinage Committee.

Collin's History of Kentucky, Vol. 2, of Josh Bell County, pages 414-415, is copied to wit:

Swift's Silver Mine. — In 1854–5, while making geological investigations in the southeast part of Kentucky, as part of the official survey ordered by the state, Prof. David Dale Owen examined the supposed location of the notorious Swift mine, on the northwest side of the Log mountain, only a few miles from Cumberland Ford, then in Knox, now Josh Bell or rather Bell county. 'The Indians are said, in former times, to have made a reservation of 30 miles square, on a branch of the Laurel fork of Clear creek. Benjamin Herndon, an old explorer, and a man well acquainted with the country, guided him to the spot where the ore was supposed to be obtained by the Indians, and afterwards by Swift and his party. It proved to be a kidney-shaped mass of dark-grey argillaceous iron-stone, containing some accidental minerals sparingly disseminated, such as sulphuret of zinc and lead — which proved, on examination, to be a hydrated silicate of alumina. This ore originated in a thick mass of dark bituminous argillaceous shale, with some thin coal interstratified, that occurs about 500 to 600 feet up in the Log mountain.'

Judge John Haywood, who emigrated from North Carolina at an early day to Tennessee, and years after, in 1823, wrote its civil and political history from its earliest settlement up to the year 1796, says of this locality: 'Cumberland mountains bear N. 46 degrees E.; and between the Laurel mountain and the Cumberland mountain, Cumberland river breaks through the latter. At the point where it breaks through, and about ten miles north of the state line, is Clear creek, which discharges itself into the Cumberland, bearing northeast till it reaches the river. It rises between the great Laurel hill and Cumberland mountain; its length is about 15 miles. Not far from its head rises also the South fork of the Cumberland, in the state of Ky., and runs westwardly. On Clear creek are two old furnaces, about half way between the head and mouth of the creek, first discovered by hunters in the time of the first settlements made in this country. These furnaces then exhibited very ancient appearances; about them were coals and cinders — very unlike iron cinders, as they have no marks of the rust which iron cinders are said uniformly to have in a few years. There are also a number of the like furnaces on the South fork, bearing similar marks, and seemingly of a very ancient date.

One Swift came to East Tennessee in 1790 and 1791, and was at Bean's Station, on his way to a part of the country near which these furnaces are. He had with him a journal of his former transactions — by which it appeared that in 1761, 1762, and 1763, and afterwards in 1767, he, two Frenchmen, and some few others, had a furnace somewhere about the Red Bird fork of Kentucky river — which runs towards Cumberland river and mountain, northeast of the mouth of Clear creek. He and his associates made silver in large quantities, at the last mentioned furnaces; they got the ore from a cave about three miles from the place where his furnace stood. The Indians becoming troublesome, he went off; and the Frenchmen went towards the place now called Nashville. Swift was deterred from the prosecution of his last journey by the reports he heard of Indian hostility, and returned home — leaving his journal in the possession of Mrs. Renfro. The furnaces on Clear creek, and those on the South fork of Cumberland, were made either before or since the time when Swift worked his. The walls of these furnaces, and horn buttons of European manufacture found in a rock house, prove that Europeans erected them. It is probable therefore that the French — when they claimed the country to the Alleghenies, in 1754 and prior to that time, and afterwards up to 1758 — erected these works. A rock house is a cavity beneath a rock, jutted out from the side of a mountain, affording a cover from the weather to those who are below it. In one of those was found a furnace and human bones, and horn buttons supposed to have been a part of the dress which had been buried with the body to which the bones belonged. It is probable that the French who were with Swift, showed him the place where the ore was.'

A Memorandum of John Swift's Journal has fallen into our hands, which is an exceedingly curious document; it has the appearance of being a copy of a portion of the same document referred to above by Judge Haywood. It describes with some minuteness the journeys of 1761 (which began at Alexandria, Virginia), 1762, 1764, 1767–8, and 1768–9, and alludes to three other trips of which he kept no account. 'On the 1st of Sept. 1769, we left between 22,000 and 30,000 dollars and crowns on a large creek, running near a south course. Close to the spot we marked our names (Swift, Jefferson, Munday, and others) on a beech tree — with a compass, square, and trowel No great distance from this place we left $15,000 of the same kind, marking three or four trees with marks. Not far from these we left the prize, near a forked white oak, and about three feet underground, and laid two long stones across it, marking several stones close about it. At the forks of Sandy, close by the fork, is a small rock, has a spring in one end of it. Between it and a small branch, we hid a prize under the ground; it was valued at $6,000. We likewise left $3,000 buried in the rocks of the rock house.' One of the companies in search of the mine was Staley, Ireland, McClintock, Blackburn, and Swift.

This Silver Mine of Swift's has been located by tradition in different counties in eastern Kentucky, from Josh Bell in the south to Carter in the north. The most recent claim is that of the Greenup Independent, in Feb., 1873, of which the following is an extract:

'When Swift was driven from the silver mines in Kentucky, by the approach of hostile Indians, he returned to his home in North Carolina. The money which he had with him created suspicion among his neighbors, and he was arrested as a counterfeiter. In those days there existed no mint in the United States, and the only test of the circulating money was the purity of the metal. Upon the trial of the case against Swift, it was proven that the coins in his possession were pure silver, and the charges were dismissed.

'The ancient tools and instruments used for coining money, which fell from a cliff in Carter county were seen and examined by men now living. These men are highly respectable and entitled to full credit, and they vouch for the truth of the statement. One of the settlers of the county found near his cabin a quantity of cinder, of such unusual color and weight as to induce him to have it tested by an expert. This was done, and the result was a considerable amount of pure silver, which at his instance converted into spoons; these spoons are still in the possession of the family.

'Several years ago, a couple of Indians, from the far West, visited Carter county, and acted in such a manner as to excite the attention of the citizens. They remained for a considerable time, and were continually wandering over the mountains and making minute examinations of the country along the small streams. When about to leave, they told an old gentleman with whom they staid that they were in search of a silver mine which the traditions of their tribe located in that section of Kentucky; but they were unable to find it, owing to the changed condition of the country.

'At an early day, silver money was in circulation in the settlement of what is now West Virginia, said to have been made by Swift. It was free from alloy, and of such a description as to indicate that it never passed through an established mint.

'A bar of pure silver was found many years ago near a small mill in Carter county, which was thought to have been smelted from ore obtained from the silver mines said to exist in that country. And, within the past few days, a piece of ore which has every appearance of silver ore, and a small quantity of metal which is said to be silver, was shown by a gentleman of undoubted veracity, who testifies that he got the ore in the mountains of Kentucky, and with his own hands smelted the metal from ore obtained in these mountains.'

That silver in the form of coin was produced in Colonial days by one Swift from bullion obtained from now unlocated sources is accepted as more than tradition; what the coins looked like or the relation of Swift and his "money" to Josiah Sprinkle and his "dollar" are yet to be established.

PORTRAIT RELIEFS, MEDALS AND COINS IN THEIR RELATION TO LIFE AND ART[1]

By T. SPICER-SIMSON

During the last few years the discerning and aesthetic public has shown a considerable interest in portrait reliefs, medals and coins, a delicate and imaginative form of art, which, for so many years has been much neglected. For this reason a small article to encourage this sympathy and understanding should be welcomed if it revealed wherein medals have a just claim to especial attention as works of Art, a claim few recognize to-day, and a majority through ignorance deny.

Before treating the subject of these small reliefs in detail, it would make the usual attitude taken towards this art clearer by touching upon some general questions that prove our aesthetic tastes are determined by deeper and more elemental emotions than any produced by the influences of environment; in fact, extend far back into the dim vistas of time and are subconscious forces of ancestral derivation.

Great manifestations struck terror into the hearts of primitive humanity and still affect the majority of mankind in the same way. As man gains control of natural forces, astonishment or wonder takes the place of fear, which in turn creates a feeling of admiration. This sentiment of admiration indicates a sympathy towards or for some spiritual or material object and as sympathy and appreciation are repeatedly confused with understanding or the actual fact of appreciation is considered sufficient in itself, it is not surprising that anything of heroic size evokes much more general admiration than diminutive objects. To be stimulated by the effect as a whole in the small Arts, and not become absorbed in the detail which is the workmanship, or the anecdote which is literature, requires the development by training of those delicate visual perceptions of rhythm and balance which are dormant in most people.

Coins and medals or small relief portraiture have flourished, therefore, as a High Art only when mankind attained an apogee of culture; the fifth century before Christ, when Greece reached her highest pin-

[1] Read before The American Numismatic Society at its meeting of March 1, 1917.

nacle of civilization; when Rome became the World Empire; and then later when the Arts burst into such brilliant flower during the Renaissance.

Social relations changed very gradually during the golden ages of Art. Society held some ideal which it expressed through the artist's instrumentality; he had neither the time nor the inclination to analyze or philosophize upon his work but left the interpretation to those who appreciated his handiwork. The artist to-day is impelled to express himself in some aesthetic form through the feeling of an individual need alone, instead of being inspired as well through and by a general communal ideal or racial necessity, as in the old days. The majority of our contemporaries are blind to the beautiful outward manifestations of the *spirit* of things and do not believe that Art is a necessity in daily life.

It is the privilege and obligation of the artist to deepen people's vision by an appeal to reason as well as sight. Higher, less materialistic ideals than prevail at present would thus be introduced and fostered, viz., that a work of Art can exist for Beauty in itself without the necessity of pointing a moral or adorning a tale. Until society possesses a greater unity and places a higher value upon the manifestations of the spirit, creating thereby an atmosphere of general admiration for and satisfaction in the things of the mind, men will not be attuned to vibrate with the eternal verities.

To return to particulars. Coins in the form of money are tokens representing the value of objects and were invented to eliminate the clumsy method of exchanging merchandise itself. Small-sized portrait reliefs in circular form are designated medals, though the term medal to the popular mind conveys the idea only of a decoration as a reward. The Italians of the Renaissance who invented the portrait medal as we know it to-day, undoubtedly made use of it more to commemorate a person than an event. Art terminology is usually so vague in meaning it has become the great resource of the smatterer and rhapsodist to the detriment of accurate thought; it is therefore necessary to define what is implied by the words Nature and Art as used in this article. By the term Nature is meant the outward manifestations of the Universe, and by Art, man's special use of the visual impressions of these manifestations.

Any form of Art expression that persists for centuries must have some basic reason for its continuity, and this is the case with the Art of

Medals and Coins. Their regular established form is circular; few of us realize, however, that this contour has not been chosen because it is the traditional shape, but for fundamentally sensuous and especial aesthetic reasons, though, of course an object that is to be much handled should be agreeable to the touch and have no asperities. The diminutive scale of a coin or medal requires that all attention should be directed toward the subject depicted and away from the outline, and it is a fact no outline commands the interest or rivets the attention to the same extent as the circle. It has no angles, no irregularities, and therefore nothing to arrest the eye on any particular part. The outline being equidistant from a certain point we call the centre, at that point will the eye rest. This very suitability of the circular form for small reliefs, which we might describe as its negativeness or inactiveness, is a disadvantage if the human element is lacking. Hence, many artists instinctively prefer an irregular, or rectangular shape to the cold fixity of the circle. This, however, as stated before, will be somewhat detrimental to the subject for the more irregular the outline the greater the emphasis upon it to the corresponding detraction of the relief. The relief, it must be conceded, is a very important factor, for without it the coin, or medal has no excuse for existence. The inscription, or the subject, stamps its use to that finite being man, whose emotions will not be stirred by the subject on a coin or medal unless it has some living quality. Life is movement and change. These attributes can and should be recovered by the artist by the treatment of the relief, the division of space and the direction of the lines of the composition. Consequently the circle need not be mathematically exact, and the subject on a coin or medal, as designed by the artist should not be precisely in the centre, nor conform by its principal lines to the curve of the circle, if it is desired to impart an impression of something vital and possessing character. Within certain confines, through the use of his intellect, man has been given freedom and is not entirely at the mercy of chance; through the strength of his emotions, guided by the intellect and expressed in some outward form, he gains the highest pinnacles of human attainment in Art. Freedom is necessary, but so is control, to make that complex being Man. Within limits clearly defined, all great works of Art conform to the above statement. There must be a harmony between the object depicted, the manner in which it is carried out, the material of which it is made and, in certain cases, the position it is to occupy.

A pattern or design, when formal, calls for a geometrical location of things and if realistically treated living bodies are used, especially if represented in movement, a feeling of discomfort arises because Life is action and variety, Pattern, immobility and repetition. Nature means change, irregularity, unconformity, so if we wish to adapt her creations to some human need, use, or preconceived object of our own, where we feel the necessity for balance, exact division or pattern, we must first interpret the thing chosen to be depicted, humouring the material in which it is to be translated and, in representing the subject, consider the innate elements, such as proportions, movement and line of much more importance than photographic exactitude. The result may be a work of art, whereas, the exact imitation, never! When these qualities are emphasized, spirit and matter harmonize, and homogeneity with diversity arises, which together are always found in the highest Art expressions and form the most important elements of that subtle quality we call Beauty.

It is a trite fact to note that a representation of Nature at a greatly reduced size will not be true even to her outward shell; consequently realism or truth to Nature are most elastic terms, but to say that Nature can be coaxed by affectionate observation to disclose the greater Truth, her inward Spirit, may sound like mysticism. By *spirit* is meant something that the exterior aspect may not always disclose, such qualities as density, softness, hardness or elasticity, not the surface texture. The sagging or festooning of cloth, for example, is so much more significant as revealing the spirit of this particular material than its rough or smooth surface or the pattern on it. The texture, color and sometimes pattern are common properties of all objects, but the lines of draperies speak for it alone. A deeper truth may often therefore be attained through emblematic representation than by direct illustration and the artist becomes a poet as well as an artisan. Even from the modern practical standpoint, it seems unfortunate that symbols should have become almost a dead language; only a few remain which are now generally understood, — the flag, the cross, the dove, and so on. The Lion, denoting courage, the Anchor, hope, and many other pretty conceits have practically vanished, though they stand for an international language. When society settles into a more stable form than exists at present, a general moral and sincere ideal will be found permeating it. Emblems will then be both resuscitated and reinvented to express this new form of relationship between men. Meanwhile, notwithstanding

the modern attitude towards most emblematic figures, it may be just as well not to throw over entirely a language that was once more easily understood by different races than the spoken word.

Portrait reliefs or medals must conform more nearly to the individual peculiarities of the person portrayed than pictorial subjects, compositions or designs representing something less personal. Balance must be obtained without too much formality of pattern or disharmony results between the realism of the face and the position it occupies in the space allotted to it. The great artist adapts the sitter's characteristics and transmutes them by his intellectual perception of form into something possibly more direct and tangible than what is exactly before his eyes, yet in harmony with the psychology of the person portrayed. It requires great discrimination to feel just to what degree formality, another term for order and design, should be carried and realism sacrificed so that the subject will still possess that changeable emotional quality we call Life. It is interesting to note that the spiritual character of the individual, which in portraits is surely of more importance than the exterior shell, may be suggested before a single feature of the face is shown. For instance, by the relief projection. A vigorous relief would hardly be suitable for a poet, unless he were a Walt Whitman; or a low delicate relief for a General Grant; mass gives an impression of strength and aggressiveness, whereas, slight relief, where the background and subject melt together, imparts a sensation of subtlety and tranquility indicating subjective, reflective and tender qualities. The space the head fills in the circle, the position it occupies near or away from the outline, with or without shoulders, may be used to emphasize the character of the sitter, both physically and mentally. The style of the lettering, its size and position, will also influence the onlooker's judgment as to the psychology of the person portrayed, as well as making or ruining the relief as a Work of Art. With all these points to be taken into consideration by the good portrait medallist he must yet not lose the primary reason for the existence of the relief, which is decorative: a quality generally gauged when interest is displayed in the medal by others than friends of the sitter! This should be the ideal of all artists.

In coins and medals commemorating some event, this decorative quality is most essential. Here the problem to be solved differs, for the coin or medal of this class is generally struck in metal from steel dies, and smaller than cast relief portraits. Nearly all portrait medals

are modelled in wax, or some plastic material, then cast in plaster, from which the definite article is either produced by electric deposit processes or cast in lead, bronze, silver or gold. At the smaller scale, the use of different relief to express individual spiritual characteristics could not be grasped, for the eye does not properly visualize a tiny low relief. There is a point where the visual impression is nil and the surface relief quickly worn away by handling. Comparatively high relief on small coins has the practical advantage of durability and legibility as well as an aesthetic appeal.

The question may well be asked,—how is it that our modern coinage lacks in this particular when modern artists acknowledge the beauty of the old Greek coins and have them as examples and as sources of inspiration? Many people criticize our currency for its lack of these qualities and by doing so show that the exigencies of modern commercial society are not commonly understood. A very definite requirement to-day is that money should stack, i. e., one coin stand on top of the other. Weight is an undesirable factor too; yet, for striking in bold relief, thickness is essential. These are some of the difficulties thrown in the way of the modern medallist or die-cutter; he lies between the devil and the deep sea; he is not permitted the thickness necessary for high relief, because of stacking and weight, yet low relief, though it will stack properly, has the great drawback of becoming illegible within a short time. Very naturally it is asked,—can a coin that is both artistic and practical be evolved, or is that an unattainable ideal nowadays? Following along the old lines would be impossible, and therefore all precedents must be laid aside. A novel attempt was made in the gold half and quarter eagles, where the metal has been deeply incised and the form found below the level of the background, somewhat in the style of the Egyptian low relief. But to give harmony between the subject depicted and the method of production the treatment should not be realistic, as it is in this coin, for the harsh and forward-projecting outline is not to be found in Nature; consequently a very formal interpretation is imperative. An effect something like the sparkling Gothic seals should be the result.

Another technical consideration is the enormous stress on steel dies striking millions of pieces. The dies will have to be constantly renewed if the principal relief projections coincide on the different sides of the coin, whereas, by alternating the relief on the reverse, and, *vice versa*, a practical means is found to lengthen the life of the dies. To a gov-

ernment mint this is of immense economic value, for in a great commonwealth like the United States of America the small currency is struck in such quantities that the tower surpassing in height all other New York buildings may be said to have been built with dimes and nickels!

The blow of a modern steel press is so powerful that the molecular condition of the metal is affected throughout, which is easily demonstrated.

A coin of which one surface has been entirely effaced by usage, or purposely effaced with a file, is heated to the red-hot point before being withdrawn from the fire; if it is then examined, the original design will be visible on the effaced side. By dropping the coin in a solution of nitric acid and leaving it an hour or so, when examined with the light at a certain angle, the original design becomes visible. The metal is always unevenly compressed. In the first experiment the molecules expand to their original size and the subject upon the coin becomes legible, though inversely, the most compressed parts, i. e., the hollows, will be seen in relief. The same result is procured by the acid test, for the acid eats away the surface according to the pressure that had been applied to the different parts of the metal.

The importance, therefore, of suitable designs for modern coinage cannot easily be overestimated. All these exigencies, instead of crushing the artist's inspiration, should be, and usually are, the starting point for some original expression in art. The work should be given to the man who admires the spirit of the ancients, but inspires himself from Nature, without imitating her or the mannerisms of the old masters. The necessity of building with clay was the direct cause of the Assyrians devising the round arch, and the demand for higher buildings, the better to express the people's aspiration toward the heavens, is said to have originated Gothic vault construction. These well-known historical instances can be multiplied.

The reducing machine was invented at the beginning of the nineteenth century. All early work was made without its aid. The die-cutter, as he was called, working directly on the small size, could only interpret Nature's form in a simplified manner, consequently, even a poor artist was less likely to make errors of scale. He would not attempt to seize any but the principal or characteristic forms. His drawing may have been incorrect, but a greater effect of harmony resulted than in many of the well-drawn figures by celebrated artists of modern

times. A harmony between the material and the design, a technical sincerity, and a definite scale beyond which the details should be eliminated, are more essential to a medal or coin as a work of Art than either beautiful drawing, accuracy to Nature, or clever technique. When a figure in stone gives an impression of mass there is harmony between the material and the design. Technical sincerity means that the work of art should bear the mark of the principal tool used. The term scale as here used means interesting proportions between one object and another, that each subject should be visible to the naked eye without reference to their actual relative sizes, for it is more important to make a decorative pattern than to give the true relative proportions of the subject depicted. Only the very great master can combine scale and technique, and he often sacrifices the latter the better to honor the material in which his ideas are expressed.

All early struck coins and medals convey a sense of their method of growth and the material of which they are made, and these are qualities to be found in all great works of Art. Handling or technique is, therefore, one of the vital means of disclosing the human element of feeling. In certain articles, such as money or furniture, where the utilitarian nature of the object is of more importance than the aesthetic, it is often the sole means by which the artist can express his personality. We find ourselves unresponsive to machine-made articles for this reason. It follows logically that the greater the number of intermediary processes interposed between the artist and his finished work the less expressive will be the result as a human document. Consequently, a cast medal modelled or cut in relief of the same size as the finished work and a struck coin cut directly in the steel die will give the finest artistic results. This does not imply that mechanical means to shorten labor are debarred, but the artist should put his hand to his work again, examine the result and correct sameness of surface or faults in scale in the final size of the object.

Nearly all contemporary coins and medals are modelled and designed in large dimensions and produced by utilizing the reducing machine, hence the lifelessness of most of them. Even a man like Roty, with his great experience and genius, never thoroughly grasped scale. Chaplain had an instinctive dread of a great difference in size between the model and the reduction, and would carry out his wax-relief portraits very little larger than the reductions that were cast in bronze. The modern necessity for speed has made the reducing machine indis-

pensable, for hand-cutting in steel is a long process. Steel-cutting as an artistic trade is practically dead but a conscientious artist who is not a die-cutter can understand the simplification of form necessary for a coin and the proper scale and relationship of one part of the design to another by making a small model the actual size of the finished work, having it enlarged, and give the decision of form upon this enlargement without elaborating it. When reduced again no disappointment ensues. For example, hair cannot be copied accurately, even life size; hence must be interpreted in strands. Their number should decrease as the size of the medal or coin diminishes. On that account truth to actual relative proportions of objects or their parts must be sacrificed to the need of legibility or for the beauty of the composition as a design. An olive leaf, or an ear of corn, may be of the same size as a human figure on a medal or coin, and will be both decoratively correct and express the idea in a better way. It is a curious fact, the general public looks for exact copies of an object even when the representation is not the same size as Nature. As the effigy of an eagle on a coin is obviously infinitely smaller than the living object, any attempt to give an accurate reproduction of the details would be ineffective; since when the feathers are reduced in size they become so microsopic as to be invisible to the naked eye and a seemingly smooth surface result. The strength and ferociousness of the bird of which the proportions give character, the movement and decorative effect become so much more important than the number of feathers, which we leave to the naturalist to numerate. This holds true of the details of a man's figure on a small coin.

The time will come when humanity will realize that truth in Art is relative; that Life, being a persistent modification and variation, our progressive development both in Life and Art is a balance between emotion and self-control and make a living art if combined with innovation and originality, which are but other names for individuality. Tradition alone cannot keep art alive any more than the exclusive development of individualism. The former dies of inanition, the latter of a hectic fever.

INDEX

BY AUTHOR AND SUBJECT

TO

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF NUMISMATICS

VOLUMES 1–50, (1868–1916)

AND TO THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

By Sydney P. Noe

FOREWORD

The completion of the fiftieth volume of The American Journal of Numismatics is an appropriate occasion for the publication of this Index. In 1907 the Numismatische Gesellschaft in Wein published a "Register" to volume 1-38 of the Numismatische Zeitschrift, and the following year a "Table" for the years 1836-1905 of the Revue Numismatique appeared. The importance of these in time-saving alone is very great. Hardly less valuable is their quality of suggestiveness.

The need for an index to The American Journal of Numismatics has long been felt. The present work was undertaken to supply this need in the Library of The American Numismatic Society. The Index is the outcome of the usefulness demonstrated there, and is the result of much careful thought. The primary division into subjects is geographical. This is an *author* and *subject* index. It is not an index by title. Many of the articles, however, were unsigned, and with these, a title entry was necessary. Parentheses are used to indicate additions to the title used, to secure greater clearness; ["The New Designs for our Coinage" by the addition of "(1891)" becomes significant].

We have followed precedent in giving the number of the volume in which the article appears in type which is heavier than that of the page reference which follows it, (e. g. **25,** 47, 84 = volume 25, pages 47 and 84). This is not so convenient in the Proceedings, where the reference must be to the year, and where more than a single year is sometimes to be found under one cover.

In arranging the subjects or classes, the primary consideration was the usefulness of the Index to a numismatist. All else was made secondary to this. The articles were classified under the subject to which a numismatist might reasonably be expected to look to find them. To do this, some of the rules for cataloguing had to be modified radically. As an illustration, medals struck in the United States are arranged alphabetically under UNITED STATES — MEDALS, according to the name of the medal or the person represented thereon. Otherwise, to follow the rule for cataloguing, they would have been arranged under this head alphabeted by the name of the author of the article, and it would have been necessary to go through the long list of medals until the one desired was found. The medals of Washington, Franklin and Lincoln (each a series in itself), have been placed under the respective names in order that the UNITED STATES — MEDALS heading might not become too much distended. Their transfer is made plain by cross-references. It is hoped that this Index may prove serviceable in locating data for members or students who may not possess a complete set of The American Journal of Numismatics; as well as in demonstrating the value of the Journal to librarians and numismatists.

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